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James

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PREFACE

How far I may be justified in devoting my portion of my time to the writing of a primer on account of people not educated in science I know not precisely, but will say it is urged by some readers.

That my theory of the relation which human beings bear to their environment is the subject of reproduction in the human mind of two opposite and mutually hostile groups of thinkers, this is certainly true, as far as I could be assured, it was entirely independent of my own, since that I knew it to be so. I was completely sure, but my experience here has been completely failed. This is, I should be so much surprised by the discovery, particularly by some who are more or less known, was indeed based on my experience. Of these, yet were prepared to be known, even before they are I have the immediate causes of opposite sides. This is a question of your literary knowledge and a kind of law.

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page 301



JAMES F. FULLER.

PSA.

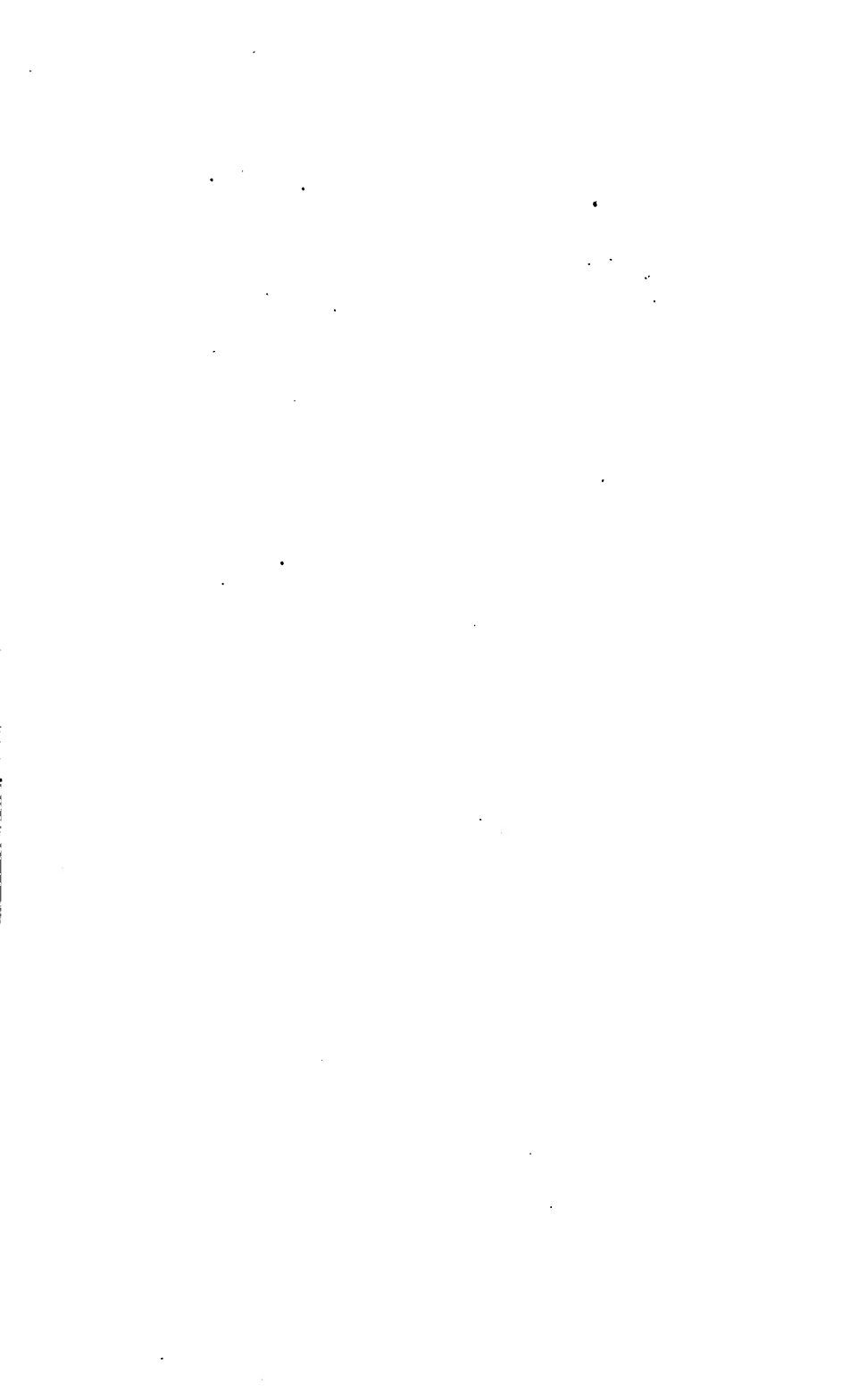
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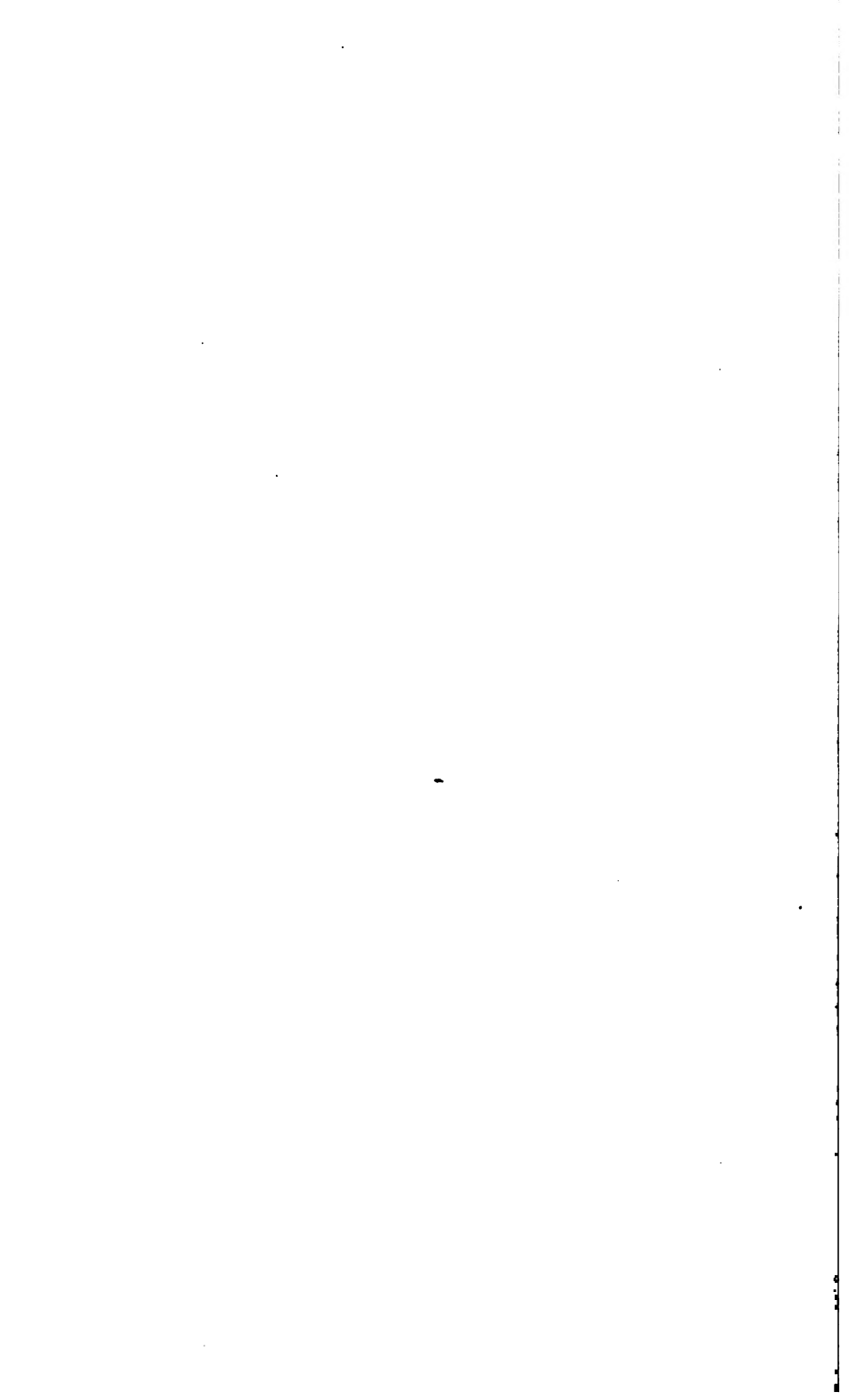


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Edward Anthony Sedgwick

H.







HISTORY 1085

OF THE **REBELLION IN IRELAND,**

IN THE YEAR 1798, &c.

CONTAINING
AN IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF

The Irish Revolutionists,

From the Year 1782, till the Suppression of the Rebellion.

WITH AN

APPENDIX

TO ILLUSTRATE SOME FACTS.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS;

And a Preface,

CONTAINING

A REPLY TO THE OBSERVATIONS

OF

SIR RICHARD MUSGRAVE, BART.

UPON THIS WORK.

By the **REV. JAMES GORDON,**

RECTOR OF KILLEGNY, IN THE DIOCESE OF FERNS, AND OF CANNAWAY,
IN THE DIOCESE OF CORK.

AUTHOR OF TERRAQUEA, OR A NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY AND
MODERN HISTORY.

Truth's would you teach, and save a sinking land,
All fear, none aid you, and few understand.

Pope.

London :

Printed by J. D. Dewick, Aldersgate-street,

FOR T. HURST, 32, PATERNOSTER-ROW;

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P R E F A C E.

HOW far I may be justifiable in devoting any portion of my time to the writing of a preface, on account of puerile and unfounded objections, I know not precisely, but such may be expected by some readers.

That my history of the rebellion would be an object of reprobation to the irrational zealots of two opposite and mutually hostile parties, who distract this unfortunate island, and that it would be offensive to some individuals independently of party, since truth is odious to the guilty, I was completely aware, and my expectations have been as completely fulfilled. That it should be so much approved by the discerning few, particularly by some who are eminent in literature, was indeed beyond my expectation. Of these, part were prepossessed in its favour, even before they saw it, from the contradictory censures of opposite zealots. Thus a gentleman of great literary knowledge told a friend of mine,

a short time after its publication, that he had not seen my book, but had formed a favourable opinion of it, on finding that it had given equal and high offence to the violent blockheads on both sides.

To form a statement of the inconsistent objections made to this little work by counterfeit, and even by some real, but ignorant and unreflecting, loyalists, would be to fill a volume as large as the work itself, with a heterogeneous mass of absurd matter. So far as any consistent meaning can be collected from such a mass, the substance appears to be this, that I have not described all those who, by inclination, or accidental circumstances, were arranged on the side of loyalism, as free from every infirmity of human nature, and endued with every virtue, particularly those of clemency and courage. That I have not depicted all those who, by previous design, or by accident, were found on the opposite side, as destitute of every virtue, and though cowards; yet, by some strange fatality, exposing themselves in such manner to the swords and bullets of the armed saints, as to have been slaughtered in thousands in every encounter; while, among the saints, notwithstanding the intrepid exposure of their persons to the guns and pikes of the immensely more numerous rebels, very few were killed or wounded.

By suppressing all information inconsistent

PREFACE.

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with such a plan, and heightening that which would answer the purpose, I might have written such a book with much less trouble than that which I have published. I should then have given not more offence to croppies, and I really believe, much less offence to Roman catholics, than I have given. I might be outwardly caressed, perhaps, even to my great pecuniary emolument, and loudly applauded by a certain description of people, who, at the same time, must inwardly despise me, while my pretended history would be a laughing-stock to all men of discernment who should deign to read it, and, as soon as the present ferment should subside, would be quite thrown away as a useless piece of sycophantic lumber.

To write a book determinedly and exclusively in favour of either party, especially the victorious and ruling party, is an easy piece of business. An author with such a purpose will feel no dearth of story, style, or phrase. The fiery stream of volcanic matter will be poured copiously around him. The danger is, that he may be overwhelmed by the lava, or enveloped in a cineritious cloud. Neither will he want purchasers for a lumber of affidavits formed to his purpose among the dupes of his party, if his object be present gain, without regard to future infamy.

Instead of such a plan, I chose, (as I must choose, if I should write at all) the line of truth,

so far as I could find means to trace it. Calumniators of all factions, have therefore exerted their powers, and some have formed themselves into a regular junto, for the purpose of putting every engine in motion to hurt the reputation of my history, and for the forwarding of that object they even deal their slanders against my private character. If I should think proper to lay before the public the characters of some of these gentry, particularly those of some yeomen officers, their power of calumny might be sufficiently circumscribed; but I choose to rest my book and character solely on their own merits. Integrity will be its own shield. *Truth will find its way.* My book is in the hands of the public, and any person of common sense has a right to form a judgment of it, who reads the whole with attention, instead of relying on the garbled representations of others. My character is known to several respectable persons; and of my loyalty I have given full proof in the knowledge of men of honourable rank and reputation, whom I could call as witnesses, if I had occasion. I shall leave these counterfeit loyalists the pleasure of gnawing the file till they wear their teeth. Thanks to the genius of British domination, and extensive reason, these virulent animalcula are at length deprived of their sting and power of mischief. The evil has worked its cure, and law and reason are now

to be done, so that Animalcula
 have lost their sting.

too strong to be disturbed, or at all affected, by the noisy senseless jargon of these would-be statesmen.

By counterfeit loyalists, I mean men who make unnecessary professions of a violent zeal for the established government and protestant religion, and at the same time speak and act as if they wished to render both of these odious to as many people as possible, and thus, by augmenting the number and rancour of enemies to these establishments, promote, as far as in their power, the preparative works of revolution.

A gentleman whom I regard in a superior light to that of a counterfeit loyalist, being asked, while he was declaiming against my book, whether the accounts were false which gave him offence? answered, "No; but they are such as "a loyalist, particularly a protestant clergyman, "ought not to have published." This I conceive to be the general opinion. *A history may be written, provided that no error committed by any actor on the right side of the question, or in favour of the righteous cause, shall be recorded.* To this the opposite party will give their full assent, provided that *theirs* shall be acknowledged to be the righteous cause. Roman catholics are as highly incensed against me, as the irrationally zealous protestants. Yet how could they expect a *heretic priest* to write partially in *favour of the true believers?* With this partiality,

however, I am charged as a crime by over-zealous protestants, while with an opposite partiality I am charged as a crime by Roman catholics. Each party has determined to discourage, as far as possible, the sale of the book, as a hostile publication; and yet it has had a sale, caused, I believe, by the yelping of certain *curs*, who barked from a dark abode through a filthy channel, and the big-bou-wou of a *huge-mastiff*, who made his appearance in clear sunshine. These barkings and bou-wous made a noise, which induced many individuals to break through the rules of their party for the gratification of their private curiosity. I therefore return thanks to my advertisers.

By the rage of party, or the influence of power, has the truth of history in all ages been distorted, obscured, or lost in oblivion; few men having courage to publish any thing disagreeable to the ruling faction, whose reign of terror may continue until the facts be forgotten, or unsupported by evidence. Thus the most obscure period of the English history, since the Norman conquest, is that of the war between the roses, including the reigns of Edward the fourth and Richard the third. Fictions, recorded as facts by the most esteemed historians of that period, and believed without scrutiny through a series of generations, are detected by the contradiction of official registries, by inconsistency, or by their

absurdity; while to supply the vacuum we have only reasoning and conjecture. That Richard the third was a monster of dissimulation, treachery, and cruelty, with a hideous distortion of body conformable to the qualities of his mind; what writer would have dared to deny in the despotic reigns of Henry the seventh, and his successors till the death of Elizabeth?—When, under the protection of a most liberal and benign government, which disdains to coalesce with petty factions, a writer, totally unconnected with catholics or croppies of any religion, either by consanguinity or affinity, who had in the hour of danger strained every nerve for the support of the existing constitution, who might be supposed in some degree shielded by the sanctity of his character, as a minister of the established church, with, I hope, a corresponding moral conduct, is furiously persecuted by factious protestants in various ways, and repeatedly threatened with personal violence, because he would not condescend to be the venal historian of a party.

To enumerate the objections of Roman catholics would give myself and the reader unnecessary trouble. One is, that I have called them *Romanists*. As I seldom dispute about articulate sounds, or sounds of any kind, I shall call them here *Catholics*. Another is that I have expressed an approbation of Sir Richard Musgrave's work. Leaving his

other excellencies to the sagacity of other critics, I have only commended his zeal and industry. The former, I hope, will be allowed by catholics themselves, after due perusal of his quarto; and of the latter, I think, his volume is a *weighty* (*I do not say heavy*) proof. I apprehend that it is already beginning to sink by its own weight into oblivion. Another is that I have apologised for orange-men, and that I consequently must be an orange-man myself. I certainly never have been, nor ever intend to be, an orange-man, since, having eight times taken the oath of allegiance, and being fully sensible that the support of my family depended on the continuance of the established government, I could not conceive any mode by which I could be more firmly attached to it; but I have been repeatedly assured by several orange-men, of undoubted veracity, and by my own sons, who are orange-men, that their system is purely defensive, and that to give even the smallest insult to any person on account of a difference in religion is contrary to their oaths. I mean not to palliate the excesses of the lower or higher orders of orange-men, more than of any other denominations of men. Those among them who have infringed the laws of heaven and of their country, must be regarded as degrading the majesty of the monarch, and the sanctity of the religion which they have pretended to maintain. Another

objection is, that I have advised the protestants of Ireland never to coalesce with their Roman catholic countrymen. Many sayings have been fabricated and reported to have been written by me, of which I am ignorant. Perhaps the following words in page 340, may have been absurdly misconceived in the above sense. "Since, from experience of this event, civil wars in any part of Ireland, except some northern counties, must, from whatever causes excited, be justly expected to assume a religious complexion of the most bloody hue, Irish protestants ought to be convinced, that the political separation of their country from Britain by a popular insurrection, must involve their extinction, and consequently an inflexibly determined adherence to their British connexion is necessary for their safety." This is only an advice to them not to join in rebellion against the British government. I have elsewhere advised both protestants and catholics to cultivate mutual friendship; but for this I expected, as I have received, no thanks from either — in fact the opposite of thanks from both.

The principal objection is, that I have, under the insidiously assumed mask of candour and impartiality, made the most artfully malicious insinuations against the catholics of Ireland, and that thus my book is, beyond all comparison,

more injurious to their interests than that of Sir Richard Musgrave; which, on account of its unqualified aspersions, nobody, they say, believes. This and many other objections I understand to have been first made and propagated by a catholic gentleman, who wrote a pamphlet in answer to Veridicus, and another against Doctor Duigenan's State of Ireland. To Veridicus, perhaps this gentleman may be a suitable antagonist, but, I imagine, if he knew himself, he would hardly ever again appear in the lists against Doctor Duigenan, since the figure, which he there makes, resembles that of a buffoon in a court of justice, using only grimaces and monkey tricks to excite the laughter of the spectators, in opposition to the well connected and forcible arguments of an accomplished pleader. This gentleman says, that I first have taken all possible pains in my narration to inflame the animosity of the protestants against the catholics, and then *jesuitically* (this is not his word) pretend to exhort the protestants to a Christian conciliation and amity with their catholic fellow-subjects. He also says that a spirit hostile to the catholic religion is evident in all the volumes as yet published of my *Terraquea*.

Some catholic ladies, of education much above the vulgar, have sent me by message the proposal of two questions. First; whether I have not, from the beginning to the end of my book,

written in such a spirit as to represent the protestant religion as more liberal than the catholic? And secondly; if that be the case, whether this is liberality?

To all such questions and objections I answer, that in writing this history I had no hypothesis to maintain, no system to support except merely the recording of the truth of facts, so far as my discernment could reach, without partiality to sect or party. If I have fallen into errors, let fairly-obtained and clear proofs be produced, and I shall be found as ready to acknowledge them as any person can wish. But since, to say no worse, I am charged with gross illiberality to Roman catholics, I shall take the liberty of asking a few questions in my turn. No fact is more certain than that the common people of the catholic persuasion, in all parts *at least* of the county of Wexford, whenever they had hopes of success in the rebellion, uniformly declared that no other form of worship than their own must ever be permitted, and that God had never intended that any other should have place. I ask, whence have they learned this doctrine? If they have learned it from their spiritual teachers, and have not been discouraged in it by their gentry, is this liberality? If a catholic happens to go, even once in his life, and even from mere curiosity, to a protestant place of worship, is he not punished by penance or otherwise, for this as a

sin, while no such restraint is laid on protestants with respect to catholic places of worship? Is this liberality?

I know that some catholics of superior intellect take the liberty to emancipate themselves from this thralldom; but the instances of its enforcement on the lower classes are numerous. One lately occurred at Wexford. A charitable school has there been established, where a large number of young girls, protestants and catholics promiscuously, were taught to read and write, and were employed in various works of industry, for the productions of which they were paid the full value, beside gratuities. A charitable sermon was preached by Dean Butson for the assistance of the institution, and a collection made of fifty-one pounds. Most of the catholic girls went with their associates to hear the sermon, for which they were severely reprimanded by their priest, and have since been all removed by their parents, who were threatened with excommunication. The priest has published a defence of his conduct, which I shall give in another publication, as he there avows the doctrine here mentioned. As the conduct of this gentleman in the rebellion was highly meritorious, I am very far from intending any personal reflexion against him. I know also that some priests in the county of Wexford, not all of them indeed, have, in conversation among themselves, insisted

on the necessity of an ecclesiastical court of inquisition, like that of Spain, wherever the power of the state is in the hands of the catholics. Is this liberality?

Since I write merely as a historian, not as a polemic, I lay aside all considerations of speculative doctrines, decrees of councils, and *bulls* of popes, which, so long as they lie dormant, I consider not as offensive. I concern myself only with matters of well-known practice, nor should I have thought proper to meddle with such matters, if the question of liberality had not been started. As I am not only a protestant, but a protestant priest, I have no right to expect that I should be admitted as a judge between catholics and protestants with respect to liberality, which is the question at issue. I shall therefore quote the words of a most eminent historian, who, after having been alternately protestant and catholic, was at last a deist, equally indifferent to both religions. I quote him merely as an impartial judge in this particular case, though the opinion which he has delivered is very different from mine.

After asking, what benefits have mankind received from the reformation, and from its introducers, Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, and expressing his disapprobation as much concerning the new as the old doctrine, he proceeds thus: "Yet the services of Luther and his rivals are

“solid and important, and the philosopher must
“own his obligation to those fearless enthusiasts.
“First; by their hands the lofty fabric of
“superstition, from the abuse of indulgences
“to the intercession of the virgin, has been
“leveled with the ground. Myriads of both
“sexes of the monastic profession were re-
“stored to the liberty and labours of social
“life. A hierarchy of saints and angels, of
“imperfect and subordinate deities were stripped
“of their temporal power, and reduced to the
“enjoyment of celestial happiness; their
“images and relics were banished from the
“church; and the credulity of the people was
“no longer nourished with the daily repetition
“of miracles and visions. The imitation of
“paganism was supplied by a pure and spiritual
“worship of prayer, and thanksgiving, the most
“worthy of man, the least unworthy of the
“deity. It only remains to observe, whether such
“sublime simplicity be consistent with popu-
“lar devotion; whether the vulgar, in the
“absence of all visible objects, will not be
“inflamed by enthusiasm, or insensibly subside
“in languor and indifference. Secondly; the
“chain of authority was broken, which restrains
“the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the
“slave from speaking as he thinks: the popes,
“fathers, and councils, were no longer the
“supreme and infallible judges of the world;

“ and each christian was taught to acknowledge
“ no law but the scriptures, no interpreter but
“ his own conscience. This freedom, however,
“ was the consequence rather than the design of
“ the reformation. The patriot reformers were
“ ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom
“ they had dethroned. They imposed with
“ equal rigour their creeds and confessions: they
“ asserted the right of the magistrate to put
“ heretics to death. The pious or personal
“ animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus the
“ guilt of his own rebellion; and the flames of
“ Smithfield, in which he was afterwards con-
“ sumed, had been kindled for the anabaptists by
“ the zeal of Cranmer. The nature of the tiger
“ was the same, but he was gradually deprived
“ of his teeth and fangs. A spiritual and tem-
“ poral kingdom was possessed by the Roman
“ pontiff: the protestant doctors were subjects of
“ an humble rank, without revenue or jurisdic-
“ tion. *His* decrees were consecrated by the anti-
“ quity of the catholic church: *their* arguments
“ and disputes were submitted to the people; and
“ their appeal to private judgment was accepted
“ beyond their wishes by curiosity and enthu-
“ siasm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin,
“ a secret reformation has been silently working
“ in the bosom of the reformed churches; many
“ weeds of prejudice were eradicated; and the
“ disciples of Erasmus diffused a spirit of Free-

“dom and moderation. The liberty of con-
“science has been claimed as a common benefit,
“an inalienable right: the free governments of
“Holland and England introduced the practice
“of toleration, and the narrow allowance of the
“laws has been enlarged by the prudence and
“humanity of the times. In the exercise, the
“mind has understood the limits of its powers;
“and the words and shadows, that might amuse
“the child, can no longer satisfy his manly
“reason.”*

Am I an enemy to catholics? I cannot hinder those who choose to think so. A man cannot easily know himself: but I think I am not their enemy, from this circumstance, that I always felt as much distress of mind from unjust sufferings of catholics as of protestants. For this the irrational part of the latter will not very cordially thank me. I am indeed an enemy to religious bigotry and intolerance, because they are evinced by the history of mankind to be most hostile to the peace and prosperity of the human race. I think that, if ever the government of these islands shall have thought proper to grant what is termed catholic emancipation, this political emancipation will operate in Irish catholics, in course of time, another emancipation from an incomparably more ignoble bondage, the thralldom of the mind

Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. xiv.

in bonds of ignorance and superstition. This bondage, from which, I imagine, many catholic gentry have already had the *audacity* of emancipating themselves, might perhaps appear little worthy of animadversion, if it included not such an odium of other religions, that a catholic should be supposed contaminated by even his accidental presence at their ceremonies.

The writer of a pamphlet, containing a strenuous defence of the Irish catholics, published under the fictitious name of Julius Vindex, universally supposed to be a certain protestant clergyman, thus expresses his sentiments with respect to the religious intolerance of those whose political conduct he undertakes to vindicate. “The writer of the following pages will not be suspected; by those who know him, of any improper bias toward the body whose character he labours to vindicate. He is connected with them neither by interest nor prejudices. If passion, resentment, or personal considerations, could swerve his mind from the love of truth, and the line of duty, the bitter unwearied persecution, the incessant obloquies of the bigotted and virulent among them, would be very unlikely to inspire such fervent partiality in their favour, as would blind the understanding by the vehemence of party feelings, and bear the mind from impartiality through the force of gratitude and sympathy.

"Nay, he is pretty well assured, that no sacrifice
 "he could make, either of his prospects in life,
 "his personal safety or liberty—no services he
 "could render through the course of the longest
 "life—though he were to expose himself to the
 "vengeance of the powerful, to the hatred and
 "persecution of their numerous and vindictive
 "enemies — though he should voluntarily
 "encounter hunger, and thirst, and nakedness,
 "reject independence, and consume himself in
 "nocturnal vigils to serve the cause of humanity
 "—though he should face death in every shape,
 "in the field and on the scaffold, even to the
 "shedding of his blood—even then the impla-
 "cable spirit of bigotry would not relent. Did
 "he actually fall, and offer up his life—'than
 "which no man can give a stronger proof of his
 "charity,' according to the gospel, it would
 "pursue his shade with maledictions, and per-
 "secute his memory, when his person was no
 "longer in its power. It is a sore ulcer that will
 "not admit the healing hand of the physician—
 "a serpent deaf to the voice of the charmer, a
 "concentrated venom which no oil can mollify:
 "If Jesus of Nazareth, in whom dwelt the spirit
 "of love, meekness, and beneficence, could not
 "assuage the frantic rage of this tiger, it must
 "be admitted incurable."

I have been grieved in observing that all
 the protection and support afforded by the British

government to the French emigrant clergy, and all the kindness manifested to them by British protestants, never mitigated their bigotry, nor drew from them one sentiment in favour of toleration. But, how much soever I disapprove of the rubrick of catholicity, of a popish hierarchy, of doctrines and dogmas attributed to those who exclusively arrogate the vain title of catholics; I have sincerely rejoiced in the repeal of penal statutes enacted against Irish catholics, and, so far as an humble individual may express, I heartily wish the speedy annihilation of the residue of those disqualifying laws, by the imperial parliament, as a measure fraught with solid advantage to all parties in this as yet distracted country.

When ever the government shall have manifestly shewn a resolution for the concession of political emancipation to the catholics, counterfeit loyalists, above defined, will be seen completely changing sides, and courting those against whom they now rail, with marked assiduity. Such is the dignity of human nature. Those counterfeit loyalists on one side, and the monkish and monk-ridden catholics on the other, who appear mutually eager to cut each others throats, unite cordially in their attempts to calumniate my book. I wish them both a good night at present, informing them that two or three typographical errors, from which few books are free,

have been mistaken by them for errors of the writer. This would have been obviated by an accurate statement of errata, which I sent, but which has not been inserted ; but I hope that the second edition will on this account be less objectionable.

A pamphlet has appeared, written by Sir Richard Musgrave, in reply to one of Doctor Caulfield, Roman catholic bishop of Ferns, in which he says, " that the Rev. Mr. Gordon, knowing the " set of savages he had to deal with, has, with " more regard to policy than accuracy, written " a history of the rebellion, for the obvious purpose of conciliating the priests and the popish " multitude, and to secure the punctual payment of his tythes ; and for that purpose he " abuses the military and yeomen, &c." I have only to wish, that they had swallowed the flattery, or somehow better digested it. But Sir Richard's keen and perspicacious head is good at a hit, and has very appositely discovered, that my flattery of popery is an indignant expression and abhorrence of popish butchery. To a plain, unrefined mind, unlike Sir Richard's, this tribute of flattery, the more easily to collect tythes, might, by no very perplexed or devious induction of the understanding, appear an equal lesson of instruction, exciting mutual shame and horror at atrocious deeds—not hardening the heart, by a flagitious and criminal partiality—not ascrib-

ing all virtue to one side, all vice to the opposite :—but roundly, and in general terms, of unmeasured length, of broad, plain and homely meaning, holding the mirror of truth as discovered by diligent and fair inquiry, alike to all factions.—If my object had been of a sycophantic nature, I had clearly no alternative. I must have embraced the very part which Sir Richard himself has embraced. All interest lies there. The most violent abuse may, with the utmost impunity, be poured on the Roman catholic and croppy party, while every moderate expression is furiously reprobated by men conscious of powerful support and favour. I mean not to insinuate that this gentleman's motive is of the sycophantic kind. If I were convinced of its being so, I should not be afraid to declare it. But not having the least personal acquaintance with him, I know not his principles, and cannot form a decisive judgment.

My conjecture is, that he is a man of humanity, acute sensibility, and a warm imagination; and, that the cruel treatment, the partial massacres, and intended extirpation of the protestants of Ireland, together with the persecutions and massacres, committed formerly by Roman catholics in other countries, excited so keen an indignation in his breast against those religionists in general, as induced him to think every weapon justifiable which could be wielded against them.

Virtue, unrestrained by a curb of moderation, runs into or produces its opposite.

*Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.*

In his laudable exertions to collect materials, men of honour and integrity gave him true statements, according to their knowledge and conceptions. Others gave him such as were supposed by them agreeable to his temper and their own interest. From the whole he has formed a compilation, of some value, even as it is, for the information of posterity, but vastly less valuable than it would have been, if it had been compiled with discernment and dispassionate impartiality. When a reader finds none but saints and heroes on one side of the contest, and none, but monsters on the other, he is apt most justly to suspect the fidelity of a representation, so little consistent with the ordinary course of human manners, and to regard the whole as a doubtful work, embellished by the fictions of an overwarm imagination.

*Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet inum.*

Much truth has he recorded—much has been concealed from him—still more doubtless by him—and many mistakes has he committed.—Of these I have given a very slight specimen in the appendix of my history. Far greater speci-

mens could I have given, and could now give, if I should find an adequate inducement for the reading of his quarto again, for that purpose. but I have long been employed in a study vastly more agreeable to me than that of the Irish rebellion; and it is not without painful reluctance that I am at any time drawn from it to this gloomy subject, of which I rid my hands with as much dispatch as possible.

Sir Richard says that I abuse the military and yeomen. I cannot hinder him to use whatever terms he finds most agreeable. I have praised such regiments as I found to deserve it—as the Marquis of Huntley's, and the Prince of Wales's fensibles.—I should have most heartily wished that I could with truth have praised all; but most unfortunately for my temporal prosperity, truth has been to me an insurmountable impediment. If I ardently wished the destruction of the British empire, and, among other causes of this destruction, should wish the most wretched discipline of its troops, with the most dishonourable sentiments and ignorance of its officers; or if I *courageously* preferred my temporal interest to all other considerations, I should boldly, in defiance of the Searcher of Hearts, who sees my thoughts, declare that the army of his Britannic majesty is so perfectly modeled and admirably officered, that it neither requires, nor could admit any improvement. General Needham

could procure addresses enough signed by officers, of their own excellent conduct, and consequently of that of the men under their command. If in a sensible regiment, on the point of being disbanded, some captains should be found who had been tailors and pedlars, and were on their return to these occupations, and some lieutenants who had been common drummers, fifers, and common soldiers, in other regiments, such officers might be extremely happy to gratify a general officer of high interest, by the signature of any declaration, however diametrically opposite to their former frequently repeated oral declarations, well known to hundreds of persons.*

Sir Richard says thus: "I am authorised to say that the bishop of Ferns, Doctor Cleaver, very much censures Mr. Gordon's history, and that the magistrates and clergy of the county of Wexford, and many of the most respectable officers, who campaigned there in the year 1798, unanimously declare that it contains many gross misstatements, and that its tendency in general is to palliate the horrors of the late rebellion." To this objection of his magistrates, clergy, and officers, an answer has been already given in the foregoing part of this pamphlet. The horrors committed by the armed

saints must not be merely palliated; they must be totally concealed: but those committed by the rebels must, if possible, be exaggerated. I can tell his baronetship, however, (and I have at least as good an opportunity as he can have of knowing) that not *all* the magistrates and clergy of the county of Wexford, nor *all* the officers who campaigned there, think as he says.

Those whom I have always considered in a superior light, as to intellect and candour, certainly approve of my history. Some avow their approbation. Others to avoid argumentation with the ignorant, with the really or affectedly violent, pretend to such *worthy geniuses* that they have not read it. And I can assure the mighty man that, if he knew what some of the violent railors against my book expressed concerning *his* understanding before the publication of his quarto, and afterwards concerning his mode of compilation, he would be extremely unwilling to admit their opinion as a criterion of merit. Many pretend to disapprove of my book far more than they really do, as to rail against it is the popular cant, in some particular places among the grossly ignorant, who pretend to judge of it without having seen it.

The baronet has a Good God! (is this the taking of a sacred name in vain?) at any miti-

gating truth being told concerning Father Roche.* The baronet has no idea of such folly as *barren veracity* concerning a dead rebel. He thinks that something of a different nature in favour of living *heroes* is more *prudent*. The hero of Vinegar-Hill is alive *to thank him at the very least*. I believe the best apology that can be made for him is, that he was used as a tool by general Lake. If so, it was a high compliment from one general to another. Of this I shall say more in another publication. Of the battle of White-Heaps, where *there was no battle*, or rather of Ballygullen, where there was a something of the kind, my account was received from several officers engaged in the affair, not indeed from General Needham. My account of this, as well as of other actions with which colonel Bainbridge had been acquainted, I shewed in manuscript to him, and he said it was accurate, but too short.† The fact of the lateness of a certain

* Sir Richard has given in his pamphlet an instance of Roche's humanity in the protection sent to the Rev. Samuel Francis. Oh, fie! to be betrayed into such acknowledgement in favour of a monster! Roche, however, is now acknowledged, by some in this country who before denied it, to have been humane. It will be acknowledged by all, when the system of terror shall have ceased to exist.

† The objection of *too short* has been made to my account of any particular transaction, generally by persons concerned in that transaction. If I had gratified every individual in pro-

hero was admitted by all. Colonel Bainbridge in his letter to Sir Richard says, "I am convinced there were not above *thirty* rebels "killed," where Sir Richard states the number of the slain at *three hundred*. Here is a proof, unintentionally produced by Sir Richard himself, of the truth of my assertion in my history, that the number of slain on the side of the rebels was in general vastly exaggerated. Thus the truth of my history will gradually be established, and, as I have been given to expect by the best judges, will triumph in the end. As to the affair of Father Murphy's body, an affair known to many, I shall say nothing here, and shall be extremely glad to see the declaration of Sir Richard's five officers of the Cavan militia. Surely that regiment cannot have contained any tailor, pedlar, or drummer officers.*

I shall, for the present, take leave of my friend Sir Richard. When I first heard of his intention to write from a great collection of authentic documents, I thought it very laudable, and I felt an inclination (and had also some anxiety, my book might have rivalled in bulk the ephemeral production of our literary Don Quixote, the knight of the venal quill.

* These officers are to swear, that no officer or soldier of the Ancient British regiment *was within a mile of* Father Murphy's body when it was burned at Arklow. Such an oath will merit the best commissions. *Durham promotion* will certainly be proverbial. I should be sorry (for the honour of the North of Ireland) that Cavan promotion should accompany it.

powerfully cogent reasons for it) to co-operate with him; and instead of writing a history myself, to consign all my information and materials to him. But I found also powerfully cogent reasons on the other side, and was assured by some men of cultivated minds and undoubted loyalty, some of them protestant clergymen with ample benefices, who knew the baronet, that they expected his work to answer no good purpose, except that of *private emolument*, from the intemperance with which they supposed it would be written. I have good reason to think that the anonymous invectives, published against me in the Dublin Journal, were the compositions of the baronet, in one of which the *tragic fire* of his own style is highly praised.* I am also informed, that he speaks in a manner little to his own credit, in various companies, against me; all this excites in me neither fear nor anger. As peace is by the divine mercy restored to this realm, the system of terror must gradually decline, which at present prevents those loyalists, who can prove in favour of my history, from allowing their affidavits to be published; and so must also the influence of a powerful juncto,

* This fire appears in very rare flashes, with very great and dark intervals.

Inceptis *gravidus* plerumque, et magna professis,
Purpureus, latè quì splendeat unus et alter,
Assuitur pannus.

MORACE.

whose members labour by every method, *vel prece, vel pretio, vel vi*, to throw discredit on my book; and thus the truth, which will at length be fully established by my supplement, will in the mean time be gradually forcing its way. To all of any discernment, who have looked into Sir Richard's book, (very, very few, indeed, are those who have had patience to read it through!) it is evidently a party production, calculated for the political and religious fervour of the day. To those who examine it with attention and discernment, it appears manifestly founded on garbled informations, and garbled affidavits, and interlarded with fictions. When a man gives evidence in a court of justice, he is bound to declare the *whole truth*; and by a cross-examination much may be elicited, which otherwise might lie concealed. But, though an affidavit may contain *nothing but the truth*, yet, since it may not contain the *whole truth*, it may be so framed and worded, by garbling the evidence of the affidavit man, as to give a misrepresentation, instead of a fair statement, of a fact. By such garbling a moderately handsome female might be represented as ugly enough, by a selection of all which might favour that idea, and the omission of whatever could militate against it. I am personally acquainted with men, whose affidavits are published in the baronet's collection, whose evidence, on an examination in a court of justice,

would prove the truth of what I say. If a history of this period could be written on the croppy side of the question, in the same spirit as that of the baronet, and with a like support of a powerful faction, a picture of the rebellion would be exhibited directly the reverse of his, founded on affidavits in a similar way. On the publication of such a book, my readers might be better able to judge whether investigating the path of truth between the extremes of party, I have endeavoured to confine myself within those bounds, quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

My wish is to hold the balance even ; to expose the faults of all parties alike ; to present in plain unornamented language topics of mutual forbearance and forgiveness to both sides, who ought to rest satisfied with mutual vengeance already inflicted. I have reason to conclude that some practical good has already ensued from the faithful mirror which I have endeavoured to place before them, neither distorting the one side, nor flattering the other. I know some, and hear of many, who formerly boasted of shocking atrocities as heroic exploits, or laudable effusions of loyalty or zeal for the protestant religion, who are now silent on the subject, or speak in such a tone as denotes either shame or contrition for these acts of theirs. I feel much pleasure in the change, and even some degree of

pride in having, in some small measure, contributed to a reformation in my countrymen.

The baronet boasts of the rapid sale of his book. All productions absurdly violent in favour of a predominant party, have in the fervour of the moment a quick sale, and are soon forgotten ; while works of real merit have a contrary course. The sale of the former sort of books is even forced sometimes in part. Dialogues of the following import are ascribed to a writer of memoirs, perhaps of the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth against king James the Second, when thousands of protestants were put to death, and even women burned alive, by the instruments of a Roman catholic king, the least imputation of disloyalty to whom was fatal to the accused person. I should be sorry to impute such dialogues to *our* baronet.

Author. Pray, sir, how do you like my memoirs ?

Gentleman. Indeed, Sir Francis, I have not read them.

Author. What ! not read my book ! that is astonishing ! well, you have bought it, and will read it immediately.

Gentleman. Indeed, I must confess, I have not bought it.

Author. What ! not bought it ! A library is no library without it. You must buy it. I'll send now for it for you.

Gentleman. Indeed I cannot buy it, as I wish to forget my sufferings in that calamitous period.

Author. I must insist on your buying it, for you cannot otherwise be a loyalist.

Argumentum ad—I forget my logic.—Candid and reasonable men are to be the ultimate judges of my book, as they are of all books—and not Sir Richard, and the divan of which he is the mouth-piece; or the monk-ridden part of the catholics—all of these are equally hostile to me and my book. While I adhere to the salutary spirit, the presiding moderation, and healthful temperament of the constitution of the British empire, I may be excused, if occasionally I indulge a smile at the expence of these worthies; or shed a tear over their infirmities. From the black and angry passions of the hour, and rooted prejudices of a naturally brave, bold and generous, but mismanaged people, I expect not, nor could expect either favour, or approbation.—I have other sources of comfort—other grounds of hope. Here I intended to end my preface, but I find another objection made from a powerful quarter.

Though I have been many years engaged in the naturally blended studies of geography and history, I never once in all that time imagined, that to write on such subjects, in a manner tending to the information of the understandings, and the improvement of the morals, of my countrymen, could be considered as reprehensible

in me in my capacity of a minister of religion. I regard the church as the great asylum of knowledge, the only department affording at once competence and leisure for the improvement of the various branches of literature, which from a want of the one or the other of these requisites, are generally either neglected or abused. Rare, very rare indeed, is the coincidence of competent wealth, high powers of the intellect, industry, and leisure from official duties in any department. The church is well known to afford leisure enough ; but if the mighty Newton had been a churchman without patrimony or patronage, we should still be ignorant of the theory of the tides, and of the simple and delightful harmony of the world maintained by the balanced forces of gravitation and projection. How greatly religion is corrupted by ignorance, and purified and promoted by the advancement of knowledge in every direction, is evidently perceptible by all except the stupidly ignorant. Most certainly theological subjects cannot be successfully cultivated without amply deep and extensive information in other respects ; and those writers, who, in their different provinces, elucidate the several objects of their study and research, contribute to assist the profound student in divinity : and nothing is more clear to me than that the patronization of literature in all its branches by prelates would be the most efficacious mode for the improvement of religion, and the

security of the ecclesiastical establishment. Temperance, moral conduct in general, and attention to parochial duties, would hardly ever be found unconnected with habits of literary pursuit; and few men would repine at the maintenance of a system, which they saw respectably administered to the general good.

If my motive had been altogether selfish, I might, for the mere sake of a dedication, have written a theological treatise, which few would buy, fewer would read, and by which fewer still would be instructed. So much with so great ability has been already written on such subjects, that no void is left there for the useful exertion of my humble faculties. *Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, egnam viribus.*

In the historical geography of the various regions of the globe I found a mighty void, the treatises on that subject in the names of Guthrie, Payne, and others, being most wretched performances, which convey altogether imperfect and false ideas to their readers. The geography of Pinkerton has lately appeared, so superior to these, that any comparison would be degrading, yet evidently a work of haste, erroneous in its plan, and very deficient in matter. If any men of understanding can think an apology requisite for my engaging in a historical geography, which I have styled *Terraquea*, I hope this will be sufficient. I thought I perceived also a void for a history of the late Irish rebellion, since I

suspected that nothing would be written on that subject by others, for some years without a decided partiality to the one or the other faction; for such writings alone can escape the reprobation of both in this unhappy country.

From circumstances not necessary to be stated at present, I had sometime suspected that the bishop of Ferns disapproved of the culture of at least what is termed *profane* literature by clergymen; and when I had occasion to write to his Lordship concerning the presumption of Sir. R. Musgrave, in the introduction of his Lordship's name to the public as a censurer of my book, I made a sort of apology for devoting to literature that leisure time, which might otherwise be spent less innocently or less usefully. In his Lordship's answer he says, "I know not why you vindicate to me your attention to literature; I never condemned it, and heartily wish that there was more of it in my diocese, and directed to its *proper object*." As to the object, I hope, I have said enough already. This letter gave me not explicit information whether he had given authority or not to the baronet to publish his name, but intimated private conversation to that purpose, and concluded with these words; "whenever I publicly avow opinions, I shall be ready publicly to defend them."

With unfeigned respect for his lordship, I really think that he cannot be a greater lover of

truth than I am, and that he is not by very many degrees so well acquainted with the transactions of the rebellion as I. I sincerely believe that his lordship has more humility than to wish to be considered as an infallible judge, and that he is too good a protestant to admit the attribute of infallibility in any of the human race. His authority therefore, however greatly respectable, decides nothing here; and when he shall once have come to the knowledge of the mean cabals of a certain philopseudic junto, he will reject the acquaintance of its members with indignation.

The most unfavourable expression in his lordship's letter was this. "I had then heard that for years past, you had expressed yourself unfriendly to the government of the country." This charge was totally unexpected, though I knew that I had enemies who laboured by dark and devious wiles to injure me. I most solemnly protest, in this public manner, my entire innocence of all disaffection to the British constitution, or to any of its substantial experimented principles, of which I have ever, and on all occasions, in act and conversation, in public and in private, been the temperate, but strenuous and steady supporter. I have given reasons, which I may publish in a more proper place, why this constitution, with all its defects and abuses, is far preferable to any other which has ever yet been known to exist. I have always, in

word and act, manifested my abhorrence of all mobs, opposition to law, and attempts to rectify abuses by any other means than acts of parliament. Men of the most worthy character, my intimate acquaintances, who have repeatedly heard my private sentiments, can testify this, whenever occasion may require.

Some have gained the name of loyalists, and the favour of their superiors by *talking* alone: I have shewn my loyalty by *actions*, wherever it was in my power. I exerted myself in the embodying of protestant yeomen; I expended more in proportion to my means, for the defence of the country, than any other person within my knowledge; I bore arms against the rebels as long as circumstances permitted; the only two sons of mine who were capable of bearing arms, both young, one only seventeen years of age, fought for government during the whole rebellion, declining no danger in the most bloody combats, but, God be thanked, never behaved with cruelty or injustice. Let any man come forward and contradict these facts. The bishop of Ferns is the best judge how far it may be consistent with his dignity and character to act on the belief of the information which he has received, without the forth-coming of his informers to support their charge. I believe him to be a man of much goodness of mind, and

rectitude of intention in his episcopal capacity ; and have seen, among other instances, a very marked attention in favour of two clergymen of his diocese, who had been publicly, but most falsely accused of worse than mere disaffection. This, no person has ever dared to do with me ; and I make no doubt that his lordship will yet discover and detest the villainy of those who have imposed on him, with respect to my political character. I have really a high respect for his lordship, and a full sense of his attention to me as a clergyman of his diocese, whose moral character, it seems, could not be so easily injured ; and if the gratitude of others is as great as mine, on a due consideration of circumstances, their feelings in that respect must be great indeed. My feelings of gratitude are strong toward another prelate, who took an early opportunity of conferring a benefice upon me, though I had never officiated in his diocese, to enable me, as he said, to pursue my studies with more ease and advantage ; and I feel a pride in being thought worthy of such favour by a man, whose universal charity, unspotted sanctity, and conscientious discharge of his episcopal duty, confer honour on the hierarchy, and on the amiable, noble, and highly respectable family to which he belongs.

HISTORY

11/10/73 Stofbad

HISTORY

OF THE

IRISH REBELLION.

CHAP. I.

Congress—Clubs—United Irish—Parliamentary Reform—National Guards—Rowan—Drennan—Tandy—Jackson—Catholic Convention—Petition—Convention Bill—Ferment—Fitzwilliam—United Irish—Soldiery—Militia Bill—French Negotiation—Insurrection Act—Imprisonments—French Expedition—Military Execution—Organization—Orange Men—Hassey—Tythes—Church—Newspapers—Hand Bills—French—Mc Nevin—Atrocities—Arrests—Proclamations—Free Quarters—Violences—Yeomen—Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Sheares.

FROM the year 1782, when by the spirited exertions of the volunteer associations of Ireland, the legislature of this kingdom was rendered legally independent of that of Britain, and the odious restrictions, which had been most unwisely imposed on its trade and manufactures by the British government, were in a considerable degree

removed, many among the Irish extended their views to a wider sphere of political freedom. A provincial assembly, first convened at Dungannon, in Ulster, on the fifteenth of February, 1782, consisting of the representatives of a hundred and forty-three volunteer corps, with design, among other objects, to plan and petition for a parliamentary reform, or a more equal representation of the commons in parliament, swelled in 1783 into a national assembly, composed of delegates from the several counties, and held in Dublin under the invidious title of *congress*; invidious undoubtedly, since under the conduct of an assembly so denominated, the British colonies of North America had recently, by a successful war against the power of Britain, established an independent republic in the western hemisphere.

The failure of this measure in November, the same year, when the petition of congress was contemptuously rejected by parliament, was attributed to the weakness of national disunion, the triple partition of the people divided by the religious antipathies of protestants, protestant dissenters, and Roman catholics. If all these discordant sects could be persuaded virtually to abandon religious distinctions in a pursuit of political reform, and cordially to coalesce with steady determination in their demands, parliament was imagined to be incapable of withholding its consent. As the main strength of the nation, in respect to number, was

conceived to rest in the Romanists, who might constitute three-fourths of the whole population, to give these a proportionate weight in the system, and to interest them warmly in the plan proposed, was an object of primary magnitude with political reformers. For the removal of those legal restrictions and disqualifications, by which the Romanists were deprived of what was accounted their due share of political power, vigorous efforts were made, and various engines put in motion.

Among the modes of agency adopted in those busy times by the favourers of innovation, was the institution of political clubs, which were formed under several titles in the metropolis and elsewhere. The principal of these, denominated the *whig club*, or the association of *the friends of the constitution, liberty, and peace*, was honoured by the sanction of some very highly respectable characters as its members, whose object was doubtless merely to obtain the reformation of abuses in the political system, and particularly to promote the scheme of a more equal representation of the people in parliament. A few of its members, however, seem to have entertained projects of a deeper kind—projects of revolution, the total subversion of the existing government, and the erection of a democratically constituted commonwealth in its place.—These advocates of revolution formed a connexion with other clubs of congenial principles, particu-

larly that of the *whigs of the capital*, whose object was evidently a radical alteration in the political system. The determined agitators of this and other societies, which appeared not to promise a speedy success to their wishes, framed at length a more general and deeply planned association, which outlived all the rest, and far surpassed them in the vigour and conduct of its assaults on the existing constitution of the state. This was the famous combination of *United Irishmen*, whose profound conspiracy, after a long, obstinate, and doubtful struggle with the government of the kingdom, was forced in the end, by the vigilance and vigour of administration, feebly to explode in partial, irregular, and easily conquerable insurrections, instead of an universal and well-organized rebellion, the means proposed by the chiefs to overturn the constitution.

Originating from Belfast, where principles of a republican tendency had long been cherished, was instituted in Dublin, in the month of November, 1791, the society of *United Irishmen*, with the immediate view of combining into one political phalanx as many as possible of their countrymen, without any distinction of sect, for the effectuating of a change in the government of Ireland; or, as themselves have declared, “for the purpose of
“forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a com-
“munion of rights, and an union of power among
“Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and

“thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.”* Catholic emancipation, and parliamentary reform, were the avowed objects of their pursuit. By the former was understood a total abolition of political distinctions between Romanists and protestants: by the latter they professed to mean a completely democratic house of commons. In the plan which they offered to the consideration of the public, they proposed that the parliament should be annual; that for the purpose of election, the whole kingdom should be divided into three hundred electorates, each formed by a combination of parishes, and all as nearly equal as possible in point of population; that no qualification with respect to property should be required in the elector nor in the representative; that every male of sound understanding of the full age of twenty-one, and resident in the electorate during the last six months preceding the election, should be capable of suffrage for a representative; that to be qualified for a seat in the house of commons, a man should be twenty-five years old, resident within the kingdom, and holding neither place nor pension under government, and that each representative should receive a reasonable stipend for his attendance in parliament.

* Appendix to the report of the secret committee of the house of commons, No. 2.

To attain their object by a military force was attempted so early as the year 1792, when money was raised by subscription to arm and embody a number of men in the metropolis, under the title of *national guards*, with an uniform distinguished with green, which was adopted as the national colour, and buttons inscribed with a harp, the armorial ensign of Ireland, divested of the crown, to denote, as was supposed, the intended abolition of monarchy. The ninth of December was appointed as a day of general muster of these guards, probably with the design to display their force, to inspire confidence into their friends, to dispirit their adversaries, or perhaps, as was feared by some, tho' it appears not probable, to seize even then the city, and commence a civil war. Whatever was their immediate object, government wisely determined to suppress in their commencement all armed associations not authorised by the supreme power of the state. On the eighth of December, the day immediately preceding that of the intended muster, a proclamation was issued by the lord lieutenant and council, peremptorily interdicting all seditious assemblies, and commanding the magistrates to suppress them by military force, if admonition should be found not sufficiently efficacious. Intimidated by the menacing language of this proclamation, and the subsequent martial array of the garrison stationed in the capital, the national guards deferred their

meeting, and the long proposed muster never took place. The heads of the society, however, met on the 14th following, and published a kind of manifesto, or counter-proclamation, exhorting the volunteers to resume their arms, for the maintenance, as before, of tranquillity throughout the kingdom, against foreign and internal enemies, and advising the protestants of Ireland to choose deputies for provincial assemblies, preparatively to a general convention, which they declared necessary to form a common cause with that of the Romanists. On account of this manifesto, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, who had acted the part of secretary at the above assembly, was arrested in the following month—a gentleman of a very respectable family and fortune, of a most amiable character, and the warmest philanthropy. That a zealous philanthropy, without a clear judgment and steady resolution to direct it, is pernicious instead of useful to society, is a painful observation. Brought to trial in January, 1794, and found guilty by the jury, this gentleman was sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred pounds, to be confined two years in the prison of Newgate, and afterwards to give a security of four thousand pounds for his good behaviour during seven years. In June, the same year, Doctor William Drennan, a physician, who had been chairman in the same assembly, was on trial acquitted; but James Napper Tandy, a citizen of Dublin, a most active member

of political societies, who had, on arrest, given bail for his appearance, had made his escape out of the kingdom in the preceding year to avoid a trial. A like escape was effected by Mr. Rowan, who by stratagem found egress from the prison. His resolution to attempt this flight was prompted, at least precipitated, by the arrest of an English clergyman of the name of William Jackson, engaged in a treasonable correspondence with agents of the French government: in which correspondence Mr. Rowan was implicated, and might in consequence have been capitally convicted. Jackson being tried in Dublin, on the 23d of April, 1795, and found guilty by the jury, evaded the ignominy of a public execution by suicide, swallowing a dose of poison, and expiring in the bar of the court amid a multitude of people.

To penetrate into the secret motives of the several protestants, who were the prime contrivers and promoters of this conspiracy, which in a short timespread its ramifications throughout the whole island, and greatly endangered the established government; I have not vanity to pretend. Most probably private ambition was the motive of some, who aspired at an eminence of power and fame through the medium of a revolution, regardless of slaughters and devastations, its inevitable concomitants. A spirit of patriotism seems to have incited a few, particularly Thomas Addis Emmet, a lawyer of uncommon talents and benevolence;

who might vainly hope that, without much bloodshed, a new government might be established of so liberal a nature as to leave no shackles on industry or merit, and render Ireland a flourishing and happy country. Both appear to have been egregiously mistaken in the nature of the instruments, on which they in great measure depended for the accomplishment of their scheme.

While the conductors of the general association were labouring to extinguish all religious antipathies, and to combine their countrymen of all sects indiscriminately into a political brotherhood; the chiefs of the sect, which predominates in zeal and numbers, planned a particular association, apparently co-operating with and constituting a part of the former, but accused by some of entertaining separate views. Encouraged by the previous declarations of several protestant assemblies in their favour—by Edmund Burke and his disciples in Britain—by the oppositionists in parliament, and by the association of United Irishmen, the leading men among the Romanists of Ireland, ever watchful of events for the advantage of their sect, formed in 1792, what was called the *catholic convention*. This assembly, when the intemperate proceedings of its inferior members had caused the secession of near seventy gentlemen from its deliberations, including Lord Kenmare and Fingall, directed uncontrolled by the affairs of their Romanist countrymen, Edward Byrne, a wealthy

merchant, member of a secret committee of Romanists, which had subsisted some years in Dublin, issued a sort of writs to the parish priests of that communion throughout the kingdom, for the election of deputies to compose an assembly representative of the whole body of Irish Romanists. Two deputies were chosen in each parish by the majority of all the adult males of the congregation assembled at the Romish chapel: the parochial deputies chose in each county two representatives; all of whom, together with the representatives of cities and towns corporate, similarly chosen, composed the catholic convention, public as to its assembly, in the Taylor's-hall in Dublin. * Having prepared a petition to the King, and elected nine of its number to remain a *permanent committee* for the management of the projected schemes, the convention closed its session. By the authority of this assembly and its permanent representative, the committee, great sums were assessed and regularly levied on the Romanists, the greater part of whom submitted implicitly to the orders of this their supreme council, as of the most firmly established government. But the application of this money

* Since the publication of the first edition of this work, Mr. Edward Hay furnished me with the documents in No. 8, in the appendix. From their internal evidence, and subsequent enquiries, I am enabled to correct some mistakes into which I had been led.

is as yet a secret, except a very small part avowedly given to some agents of this coalition, particularly fifteen hundred pounds to Theobald Wolfe Tone, the most active of these.*

A deputation, at the head of which was the above mentioned Mr. Byrne, carried the petition of the Irish Romanists to London†. Introduction to the royal presence, by one of the secretaries of state, was procured by the influence of Edmund Burke, a most determined champion of the Roman catholic church, though a protestant in external profession. Some have pretended that great sums of money were, on this occasion, bestowed to such persons about the court as were supposed able to influence the royal ear in favour of the petitioners. The deputation was graciously received by his Majesty; but the protestants of Ireland were invited to meet in their several counties, and to declare their opinions concerning the emancipation requested by their catholic brethren, in order, as was supposed, that the legislature might regulate its determination, at least in some degree, according to these opinions. Notwithstanding that great

* I have heard that Mr. Tone received only five hundred pounds, though three times the sum had been ostensibly voted.

† In my first edition I pronounced this, *a petition surprisingly fraught with misrepresentation*. Though penal statutes against Catholics had lain dormant, yet I think that expression unjust, and I therefore expunge it. See Mr. Hay's letter in Appendix, No. 8.

pains were taken by pamphlets and speeches to convince them of the contrary, the protestants mostly feared, from the unparalleled spirit of intolerance assiduously nourished in the Romish religion, that the Romanists, if once admitted into a participation of political power, would, with the peculiar zeal of their sect, avail themselves of their superiority of number, and every other possible advantage, to possess themselves of that power exclusively, and ultimately to persecute and even exterminate the heretics. After the protestants had in general, at their county meetings, declared their disapprobation of indulgences beyond those which had already been given to their countrymen of the Romish faith, the King was graciously pleased to recommend the relief of his Roman catholic subjects in Ireland to his two houses of parliament in that kingdom. This mode of proceeding, whether accidental, or designed by the ministry, augmented mightily the jealousies of the two parties, the Irish of the established and of the Romish church, as the latter were left to conclude that their protestant countrymen were their foes, while the ministers were their friends*.

* The policy of at least conniving at the distractions of the Irish was adopted by some English politicians in the reign of Elizabeth, in order to retain Ireland in a state of weakness and dependence. "We find Sir Henry Sidney and Sir John Perrot, who perfectly understood the affairs of Ireland, and the disposi-

The influence of the monarch, as is usual, prevailed in both houses: the servants of the crown, who were the most hostile to the measure, and even expressed their disapprobation in parliament, voted in its favour. By acts made in the parliamentary session of 1793, the Romanists were placed nearly in the same political situation with the protestants, being excluded only, by their own refusal to take the test oaths, from sitting as members of parliament, and from acting as officers of government in about thirty of the great offices of the state. But an effectual obstruction was made against all conventions of this public sort, such as the Catholic convention, for the future, by an act of parliament, styled the convention bill, proposed by the Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, professing "to prevent the election, or other appointment, of conventions, or other unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions, or other addresses, as to his Majesty, or the parliament." This prevented the meeting of an intended national assembly, which was proposed to be convoked in the month of September, the consequences of fions of its inhabitants, both expressing their indignation at this horrid policy, which yet had found its way into the English parliament." Leland's Hist. of Ireland, B. 4. chap. 3. The removal of the national distinctness of Ireland, by its legislative union with Britain, must remove all motives for such mistaken policy.

which might have been incalculably destructive at that time to Ireland.

If the protestant conductors of the United Irish had, at the close of the year 1792, succeeded in their attempt to overawe the government by muster of the national guards, which appeared to be their immediate object, and thence by bolder steps to compass a revolution, the leaders of the Romanists, who were also members of the United Irish association, would have had opportunity to unfold and put in execution their particular scheme. Whatever this was, the lower classes of their communion appeared evidently to conceive no other idea of a revolution than the exclusive establishment of their own church. Their spirits were high in expectation of this change. They could not entirely conceal their sentiments. Treasonable songs, scurrilously abusive of the protestant religion, were publicly sung by drinkers in tipling houses and ballad-singers in the streets. A ferment prevailed which seemed to announce an approaching insurrection; and in 1793 some local commotions, easily suppressed, took place, particularly about the collieries in the county of Kilkenny, and in the southern part of the county of Wexford. A body of insurgents, about two thousand in number, attacked the town of Wexford with an ostensible design to liberate some prisoners confined in the gaol of that town; but

such novices were they then in military matters, that they were, with the loss of about an hundred of their party, repulsed by the fire of only thirty-five soldiers, on whose side the brave Major Vallotton fell, by the stroke of a scythe-blade fixed in the end of a pole.

Some of the Romish gentry are said to have regretted that their party had let slip such an opportunity as might not again occur, of striking home, by a general insurrection, at an earlier time, when government was less prepared for the attack. In 1795, however, under the lord lieutenancy of Earl Fitzwilliam, the successor of Lord Westmoreland, an ample field was expanded to their hopes; and in obedience to a mandate of the permanent committee petitions, on a model prescribed, were addressed to parliament by the whole body of that persuasion, demanding a completion of what they termed catholic emancipation. This nobleman, being one of the disciples of Edmund Burke, was a warm friend to the Romanists, and a bitter enemy to the French republicans, who had renounced their communion, and yet on whom, notwithstanding, the Romanists of Ireland depended in great measure for the exaltation of their church by their assistance in a revolution; but before he could gratify the wishes of his favourites, the Earl was recalled, and the Earl of Camden sent as lord lieutenant in his place. Their discontents

in consequence of this disappointment were considerably augmented: speeches and resolutions of a seditious nature were published by the authority of the committee, by whose invitation an assembly of Romanists was convened at a chapel in Dublin, and disturbances increased in several parts of the country.

The United society in this ferment was not idle. After unremitted exertions to engage in the promotion of their design men of activity and literary talents throughout the kingdom, and also to tincture the minds of their countrymen with republican ideas, by the dissemination of Payne's *Rights of Man*, and other democratic publications, this knot of reforming politicians assumed in the same year, 1795, with little disguise, a revolutionary cast. The original declaration offered for signature to each man on his admission into the society was this: "I, * * in
" the presence of God, do pledge myself to my
" country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and
" adequate representation of the Irish nation in
" parliament; and, as a means of absolute and
" immediate necessity in the establishment of
" this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour
" as much as lies in my ability to forward a
" brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and a union of
" power, among Irishmen, of all religious per-

“suasions, without which every reform in parliament, must be partial, not national: inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country.”

But now the mention of parliament was omitted in the new test, or oath of admission, which was expressed in these words: “In the awful presence of God, I, **, do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of *every* religious persuasion; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of *all* the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.”*

That not merely a reform of parliament, however, but a total overthrow of the existing system of government, and the erection of the Irish nation into an independent republic, unconnected with Britain, was from the beginning an object

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 24.

with some of the original framers of the society, we have reason to suppose, particularly from their own declarations and correspondence.

In their original declaration are the following words:—" In the present great ærea of reform, " when unjust governments are falling in every " quarter of Europe; when religious persecution " is compelled to abjure her tyranny over con- " science; when the rights of men are ascertained " in theory, and that theory substantiated by " practice; when antiquity can no longer de- " fend absurd and oppressive forms against the " common sense and common interests of man- " kind; when all government is acknowledged " to originate from the people, and to be so far " only obligatory, as it protects their rights and " promotes their welfare, we think it our duty, " as Irishmen, to come forward and state what " we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what " we know to be its effectual remedy.

" *We have no national government.* We are " ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of " Englishmen, whose object is the interest of " another country; whose instrument is cor- " ruption; whose strength is the weakness of " Ireland; and, these men have the whole of the " power and patronage of the country, as means " to seduce and subdue the honesty and the " spirit of her representatives in the legislature. " Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform

“ force in a direction too frequently opposite to
“ the true line of our obvious interests, can be
“ resisted with effect solely by unanimity, deci-
“ sion, and spirit in the people—qualities which
“ may be exerted most legally, constitutionally,
“ and efficaciously, by that great measure essen-
“ tial to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland—
“ an equal representation of all the people in
“ parliament.” *

That the reform here professed was rather an ostensible than real object, exhibited for the purpose of uniting reformers with revolutionists, appears from a letter, addressed on the occasion to his friends in Belfast, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a lawyer of uncommonly high talents and industry, and one of the original framers of the institution, of which letter the following is an extract. “ The foregoing contain my true and
“ sincere opinion of the state of this country, so
“ far as in the present juncture it may be ad-
“ visable to publish it. They certainly fall
“ short of the truth, but truth itself must some-
“ times condescend to temporise: my unalter-
“ able opinion is, that the bane of Irish pros-
“ perity is in the influence of England: I be-
“ lieve that influence will ever be extended
“ while the connexion between the two coun-
“ tries continues; nevertheless, as I know that

“ opinion is for the present too hardy, though
“ a very little time may establish it universally,
“ I have not made it a part of the resolutions.
“ I have only proposed to set up a reformed par-
“ liament as a barrier against that mischief,
“ which every honest man that will open his
“ eyes must see, in every instance, overbears
“ the interest of Ireland. I have not said one
“ word that looks like a wish for separation,
“ though I give it to you and your friends as
“ my most decided opinion, that such an event
“ would be a regeneration to this country.”*

The association was extended in Dublin and the northern counties with industry and success. The latter was greatly promoted by the displeasure occasioned by the French war—a ministerial measure adopted apparently without reason, and so highly condemned by many in the nation as to add prodigiously to the number of malecontents in both the British kingdoms.—The rapacious insolence of the soldiery also, which had been very unwisely overlooked, or not sufficiently restrained, in the first years of this war, was certainly not well calculated for the promotion of affectionate sentiments toward administration, in the lower classes of the people in general throughout the kingdom.—In the marches of troops, on change of quarters, the

horses of the farmers and peasants, pressed for the carriage of baggage, were brought to unreasonable distances, and severely abused, unless money was given by their owners to procure better treatment. Sometimes the carts were lost, and various other inconveniences occurred.—Where they halted in their march, the soldiers dispersed themselves over the neighbourhood, seizing horses of which they had no need, merely to force the owners to release them by the payment of money.—The accommodation of soldiers billeted was also severely felt by some who were exposed to it from their situation; and money was extorted on this ground also. After some time, the grievance of pressing was redressed in great measure, perhaps partly by more attention to discipline, but certainly by the allowance of better hire for the transportation of baggage, by which the necessity, and consequently the pretence, of compulsive employment, was in a considerable degree removed. Yet the inconvenience has continued to be occasionally, sometimes severely felt, by the connivance of officers to the detriment of agriculture; of the numerous instances of which, one happened in my neighbourhood in April, 1802, in the march of the Kerry militia from Enniscorthy, when the country was harassed in an extent of many miles: whereas at Grange, where a part of this militia was quartered, eight miles from Ennis-

corthy, horses were provided without any disagreeable circumstances, by the exertions of the Rev. William Eastwood, a magistrate, and the prudent conduct of Lieutenant Mahoni.*

Discontents rose high on account also of the militia bill, which enacted compulsory levies of soldiers for the internal defence of the kingdom. On a return of the names of the males in each district of the military age, lots were drawn, and those on whom the chance fell, were obliged to enlist as soldiers for four years; to find substitutes, or to pay fines. Some individuals, unable to pay, sustained the seizure and sale of their goods; and some for intemperate expressions of discontent were committed to gaol. To make the burthen bear more equally, subscriptions were generally proposed and adopted to raise money for the enlisting of soldiers; and these subscriptions were for the time a heavy tax on peasants and citizens; but it was only temporary—for when this new species of army was once embodied, small bounties were found suffi-

*. When a man would solicit employment, at the rate of two shillings a day for himself and his horse, in the drawing of lime from the distance of ten miles, which is the case in my neighbourhood, and yet would avoid, by every possible evasion, the drawing of military baggage, in which his earnings would be at least three times as great, we cannot suppose this preference to be without a cause. This cause arises from the inattention of officers, and the defective discipline of soldiers.

cient to entice recruits for the filling of augmentations, or vacancies.

Not relying wholly on its force at home, the chiefs of the society made application to the French government; and in April, 1796, an invasion of Ireland was promised by the latter for the subversion of the British power in Ireland, and the political disruption of this island from Britain. The offer was accepted, on condition that the invading army should act as auxiliaries under the direction and pay of the society, which, on becoming possessed of the dominion, should be bound to re-imburse the whole expences of the armament.*

The vigilance of government penetrated the design of internal hostility and external alliance; and as the existing laws were totally inadequate to stop the progress of the conspiracy, new powers were conceded by the legislature to the executive administration. In October, 1796, parliament suspended the law of Habeas Corpus, and thereby gave authority to imprison obnoxious persons without cause assigned, or definite period of trial. In the spring of the same year also, a temporary law, termed the Insurrection Act, had passed, levelled immediately against an irregular confederacy of men, who, under the name of defenders, infested the counties of Ros-

* Appendix to the report, &c. Nos. 6 and 31.

common, Leitrim, Longford, Meath, and Kildare, despoiling in the night the peaceable inhabitants of their arms, and latterly also of their money and valuable effects. By this act the lord lieutenant in council was authorized to proclaim, on the requisition of seven of its magistrates, assembled at a sessions of the peace, any county or district thereof, as in a state of disturbance, and thereby to invest the magistrates with an extraordinary power of seizing, imprisoning, and sending aboard his majesty's fleet, such persons as should be found at unlawful assemblies, or otherwise acting so as to threaten the public tranquillity.

The operation of these temporary laws was forcibly felt in the latter part of this, and in the course of the following year. Considerable numbers of gentlemen, or persons in respectable situations of life, were arrested on private informations of their engagement in the conspiracy, and lodged in prison, many for a great length of time without opportunity of trial. Many districts in the northern counties were proclaimed, and numbers of the lower classes of men sent on board of the king's navy.

These acts of severity, apparently inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution, were not without cause. A contest, or trial of strength, seems to have arisen between the existing government and the association, which of the

two should overpower the other. Each vigorous measure, adopted on one side, excited another to counteract it on the opposite. To furnish themselves with arms, the lower classes, like the defenders, assembled in parties in the night, and disarmed those whom they regarded as the adherents of government. To save the produce of the soil to their friends in prison, and to testify their attachment to the gentlemen of their party, or those whom they imagined not hostile to their cause, they met in large bodies in the day to dig out the potatoes and reap the corn of several individuals. The greatness of the numbers assembled on these occasions, much exceeding what the specified purposes required; (for in some instances four or five thousand were said to be collected in one body)—their marching with music in a sort of military order, and their assembling on such other pretences as funerals and matches of football, gave cause to suspect that the real object of these meetings was to accustom the men to a readiness in repairing to appointed places of convention, to give confidence to their own party, and to intimidate their opponents. To frustrate the operations of the law, terror and bribery were employed with its agents. Various modes of persecution, and even sometimes assassination, were put in practice against magistrates who exerted themselves to arrest the members of the conspiracy, wit-

nesses who appeared against them in courts of justice, and jurors who found them guilty; while the pecuniary subscriptions of the association were partly applied to assist the families of its imprisoned members, to bribe witnesses in trials, and to fee the most eminent pleaders of the law.

Acts of a violent and menacing nature in some of the northern counties, particularly the stealing of ten barrels of gunpowder out of the royal stores in Belfast, are specified in a proclamation of the lord lieutenant and council, bearing date the sixth of November, 1796, in which all magistrates and loyal subjects were strictly commanded to use their best endeavours for the prevention or punishment of such dangerous and treasonable proceedings; orders having been previously issued to the military officers to assist the civil in the execution of this duty. Notwithstanding the enforcement of this proclamation, the United Irish of Ulster would have obtained and employed the means of insurrection, if the French forces, embarked at Brest, for the invasion of Ireland, had effected their landing at Bantry-bay, where they arrived near the end of December in the same year. While the debarkation of the French army, stated at fifteen thousand in number, was prevented by a storm which divided the fleet, the exertions of the society to second the invasion were prevented by

the receipt of two contrary pieces of intelligence from the French government, the one a message in November, promising the arrival of succours immediately; the other a letter in a few days after the messenger's departure, which was considered as authentic, representing the proposed expedition to be deferred until the ensuing spring.*

A continuation of outrages, directed systematically, provoked on the side of government more strenuous exertions to suppress them. Authorized for a discretionary disposition of his troops, to disarm the malecontents and prevent insurrection, (by a letter, dated March the third, 1797, from the right honourable Thomas Pelham, secretary to the lord lieutenant), General Lake, bearing the chief command in the northern district of the kingdom, issued on the thirteenth of that month a proclamation, enjoining all persons not empowered to keep arms by government, to surrender their arms and ammunition to the commanding officers in their several neighbourhoods, and promising to informers inviolable secrecy, together with rewards to the full value of the stores of war discovered in consequence of their information.†

The troops were so disposed as to search all suspected places for military stores, and to pre-

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 31. † Ibid. Nos. 8 and 9,

vent unlawful assemblies, especially in the night, after a certain hour, in which all persons found abroad without authority were liable to arrest and punishment: but the quantity of arms thus collected proving comparatively small, and the plans of the society still remaining in force, whose exertions at the assizes, during the circuit in the succeeding month of April, so far frustrated the prosecutions of the crown as to render the result rather an encouragement than the contrary to the conspirators—measures of a still more forcible nature were demanded.

Another proclamation from the lord lieutenant was issued on the seventeenth of the following month, declaring the efforts of the civil power to have been found inadequate for the preservation of the public peace; the most effectual orders to have been sent to the officers of his majesty's troops to employ their utmost power for the suppression of treasonable attempts; and the king's most gracious pardon to be tendered to all such (excepting persons guilty of certain specified crimes), as on or before the twenty-fourth of June should surrender to the magistrates, take the oath of allegiance, and, if bail should be required, enter into recognizance for their future good behaviour. A letter from secretary Pelham to the earl of Carhampton, chief commander of the troops, and orders from the earl to these to act independently of the

civil power, followed the proclamation : and as the plan of each county was found (particularly by the informations of Nicholas Maguan, of Saintfield, in the county of Down), to be arranged for a general insurrection in the north, which was to take place before the end of June, the most rigorous and summary modes of coercion were judged necessary.

The members of the Irish government, forced by the magnitude of the threatened evils, into a temporary violation of the political constitution, for its ultimate safety, authorized such modes of compulsion as must have wounded their own feelings. The houses and effects of those who produced not the arms, which by informations they were known or supposed to have in concealment, were consumed with fire by the troops, or otherwise destroyed ; and many persons, to force a discovery, were put to some species of torture, particularly that of the picket. The term of surrender and pardon was by proclamation prolonged from the twenty-fourth of June, to the twenty-fourth of July ; and such were the effects of the measures pursued, that, excepting a partial, unsupported, and short-lived commotion, near the mountains in the county of Down, the intended insurrection was prevented ; great quantities of arms were collected from the malecontents, and order so restored throughout Ulster, that the administration of justice was

again committed to the civil power, and the interference of the military discontinued in that province, generally, from the month of August. But, while by acts of necessary rigour, which forced many of its efficient members into prison, exile, or inaction, the designs of the union were at that time frustrated, and its plan so disorganized in the northern counties, that the inferior societies in general discontinued their meetings, and Ulster was far from being completely represented in the provincial committee;* it was extending in the southern and western, with assiduity and zeal, its improved system of organization. To form some idea of this extraordinary scheme, a short retrospective survey is requisite.

The organization of the society of United Irishmen, which for some time was quite of a civil nature, is represented as having commenced in the spring of 1792, and as having been completed in Ulster on the tenth of May, 1795. In the autumn of the following year, when a reform of parliament, the ostensible with all, and with some the real object, was regarded as not otherwise attainable than by force, the association began to assume a military form; and in April, 1797, the number of men in Ulster alone, enrolled for insurrection, was, beside others

* Appendix to the report, &c., No. 14.

doubtless ready to assist them, stated at nearly a hundred thousand, provided, some with fire-arms, others with pikes, a store of ammunition, and some cannon.* The organization was re-formed in August the same year; but to specify the several changes, appears unnecessary, and to give briefly the general outline of the system, sufficient.

The association consisted of a multitude of societies, linked closely together, and ascending in gradation, like the component parts of a pyramid or cone, to a common apex or point of union. The lowest or simple societies consisted each originally of thirty-six, afterwards at most of only twelve men, as nearly as possible of the same neighbourhood, that they might be mutually under the inspection one of another. An assembly of five secretaries, severally elected by five simple societies, formed a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate superintendence and management of these five societies. Ten delegates, elected one from each of ten lower baronial, composed an upper baronial committee, which in like manner directed the business of these ten lower committees. With the same superintendence over their constituent assemblies, delegates from the upper baronial, one deputed from each, formed in the counties,

* Appendix to the Report, &c. Nos. 2 and 31.

county committees, and in populous towns, district committees; and the provincial committees, one for each of the four provinces, were composed of delegates from the district and county committees, two from each, sometimes three, when the extent and population of the district seemed to require a more numerous representation. The supreme and uncontrouled command of the whole association was committed to a general executive directory, composed of five persons unknown to all excepting the four secretaries of the provincial committees; for they were elected by ballot in these committees, the secretaries of which alone examined the ballots and notified the election to none except the persons themselves on whom it fell. The orders of this hidden directing power were conveyed through the whole organized body by not easily discoverable chains of communication. By one member only of the directory were carried the mandates to one member of each provincial committee, by the latter severally to the secretaries of the district and county committees in the province, by these secretaries to those of the upper baronials, and thus downward through the lower baronial to the simple societies.

The military organization was grafted on the civil of this artfully framed union. The secretary of each of the simple societies was its non-commissioned officer, serjeant, or corporal; the

delegate of five simple societies to a lower baronial committee was commonly captain over these five, that is, of a company of sixty men; and the delegate of ten lower baronial to an upper or district committee, was generally colonel, or commander of a battalion of six hundred men, composed of the fifty simple societies under the superintendence of this upper committee. Out of three persons, whose names were transmitted for that purpose, from the colonels of each county to the directory, one was appointed by this executive body to act as adjutant-general of that county, to receive and communicate all military orders from the head of the union to the officers under his jurisdiction.—To complete the scheme of warlike preparation, a military committee, instituted in the beginning of the year 1798, and appointed by the directory, had its task assigned to contrive plans for the direction of the national force, either for the purposes of unaided rebellion, or co-operation with an invading French army, as occasion should require. Orders were issued that the members of the union should furnish themselves, where their circumstances allowed it, with fire-arms—where not, with pikes. To form a pecuniary fund for the various expences of this great revolutionary machine, monthly subscriptions, according to the zeal and ability of the subscribers, were collected in the several societies,

and treasurers appointed by suffrage for their collection and disbursement. *

From this fund were supplied the demands of the emissaries commissioned to extend the union. Of these, considerable numbers were dispatched into the southern and western counties, in the beginning and course of 1797; where, though many had been sworn into the union, little progress for the effectual promotion of the system had been made before the autumn of 1796; and so little was made for some time after, that in May, 1797, at the eve of an intended insurrection, the strength of the association lay, exclusively of Ulster, chiefly in the metropolis and the neighbouring counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and King's county. This body of political missionaries received instructions to work on the passions, the prejudices, and feelings of those to whom they should address themselves.

The lower classes were informed that by a revolution, which, in the establishment of a democratic system of government, would give universal suffrage and equal rights; their condition would be exalted and rendered far more comfortable. Great pains were taken, contrary to the oath and original plan of United Irishmen, to revive the

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 31. Report of the secret committee of the house of lords, 8vo. 1798, p. 6—9. See also the trials of Henry and John Sheares, John Mac Cann, Oliver Bond, and William Michael Byrne,

old religious hatred of the Romanists, who constitute the great mass of the people, where these emissaries were sent, against their protestant fellow-subjects. To rouse this numerous body by terror and resentment into a preparation for hostility, which the chiefs of the Union might hope to turn to their own purposes, dreadful accounts were invented and industriously propagated concerning the designs of the Orange association, the members of which were asserted to have entered into engagements to exterminate the Romanists, to wade knee-deep, or even, if occasion should require, to ride saddle-deep in their blood; and, to impress the belief of this horrible falsehood, fabricated resolutions of Orangemen were printed and dispersed. Reports were from time to time circulated of intended nocturnal massacres of the Romanists by large troops of protestants; and such was the immediate effect, that the terrified inhabitants of the districts where these reports were spread, fled from their houses at the approach of night, and lay concealed in the fields till morning.

Societies of Orangemen took their first rise in the county of Armagh, where a mortal feud, originating, as it is said, from a private quarrel, had subsisted since the year 1785, between the lowest class of the presbyterians and Romanists. The former, denominated *peep-of-day boys*, from their appearing assembled in bands frequently about the dawn, having gained the superiority;

the latter associated under the title of defenders, and seem to have been regularly organized in the year 1789. Among the outrages perpetrated by these Romanists was the assassination of a family of the name of Barclay, at a place called Forkhill, in the above-mentioned county, in the year 1791. The master of the family who had been appointed to preside over a newly endowed protestant school, his wife, and his brother-in-law, the two latter of whom died of their wounds, were maimed in a horrid manner; the first by the amputation of his fingers and part of his tongue: the second, a beautiful young woman, by the amputation of her breasts, her tongue, and the calves of her legs; and the third by a similar mutilation. For self-preservation against this religious confederacy, which had spread itself widely through the neighbouring counties, the protestants of the county of Armagh began at length, in the latter part of the year 1795, to form associations under the denomination of *Orangemen*, a denomination derived from King William the Third, Prince of Orange, who had rescued the protestants of Ireland by his arms, and given them that ascendancy which they have since maintained. After the loss of many lives on both sides in the contest, the Orangemen obtained a decided superiority, and, as must be expected, the lower sort abused their victory, expelling from their houses and lands great numbers of the opposite party, who

generally took refuge in Connaught. This political association of protestants was diffused in 1797, into the county of Monaghan, other parts of Ulster, some towns in Leinster, and particularly the metropolis, where it became general in the beginning of the following year. Many men of considerable rank had now entered into this confederate body, the object of which was, in a printed publication, declared to be the preservation of public order, of the existing system of government, and the protection of all persons who conducted themselves with loyalty, without regard to differences of religion. They made the most solemn protestation, that to injure any person on account of his religious opinion never entered their hearts. But so successful were the agents of revolt in their endeavours to counteract this protestation, that it gained no credit with the lower classes of Romanists. I took once in particular an opportunity to read the declaration to a number of my neighbours, of this description, adding some comments from myself to persuade them into a belief of its sincerity. They said among themselves, "see there now; "it is not as we were told;" and other words to the same purpose; and all seemed satisfied that they had been deceived. Yet, when I met some of them the following day, and spoke on the subject, they said that no reliance could be placed in such declarations, as Orangemen had entered

into engagements, one with another, which were kept profoundly secret from all other people.

The mutual distrust and hostility of mind, of protestants and Romanists, was greatly augmented by the publication, in 1797, of a pastoral letter of Dr. Hussey, Roman catholic bishop of Waterford. In this he treats the protestants with great insolence, as a contemptible sect, which must soon have an end; he accuses the protestants of practices of which they were not, and are not guilty, and exhorts the catholic clergy not to suffer, under pain of excommunication, the children of their parishioners to mix with protestants in places of education. The immediate effect of this was an augmentation of bigotry among the Romanists, the withdrawing of their children from protestant schools to avoid the infection of heresy, and a general separation of the two sects. Many Roman catholic gentlemen, I find now, affirm, that the bishop was encouraged, if not instigated, by the British ministry, to cause dissention among the Irish; and allege for proof, that he has been since cherished by the ministry. Whether or not this may have foundation, I am not qualified to form a judgment.

As from the exorbitant rents at which the lands of Ireland are in general set, on account of the great monopolies of land, entails, settlements, and bad customs, the payment of tithes, which are so unfortunately modified as to rest their

weight almost exclusively on tillage, appears to the cottager, (exhausted by the demands of his landlord and the services and douceurs exacted by his landlord's agent,)* an almost intolerable grievance, the agitators of revolution spoke most forcibly to the feelings of the peasantry on that subject, particularly in the counties of Cork and Waterford, where the discontent on this account is greatest, representing the establishment of a commonwealth to include, by necessary consequence, the total abolition of this hated species of rent. Why tithes, however, with which the clergy have been endowed "by a title more ancient by ages than the title of any subject of this, or any other kingdom in Europe, to his

* I have not in this intended offence to any individual; yet I am told that many are offended, and allege in return that the lands are not set high by the owners of estates, but by their tenants, who reset lands on advanced rents. Tenants undoubtedly raise the rents of lands, because they raise the real value of them by manuring and other improvements. Let us for elucidation, suppose that a man has taken a hundred acres of land at a guinea an acre, and has expended a thousand pounds in its improvement, which, at the rate of ten pounds an acre, for manure alone, is not extravagant in some parts of Ireland. When convenience or necessity causes him to remove, is he to have no profit rent for his money and personal attention? Probably the person to whom he sets this ground has a much better bargain than himself, as the sub-tenant has no fees nor douceurs to pay to an agent, and has the land prepared for a quick return of profit. When the lease expires, the advanced rent goes to the holder of the estate, who ultimately enjoys all the advantage of the tenant's money and labour.

“particular landed estate.”* should be considered as a fitter object of confiscation, or abolition, than the other species of rent, is a question for revolutionists to answer. If they think so because the property of this descends not by hereditary right from father to son, like a private estate, but by another mode of succession, the appointment of men to offices in the religious establishment; let them consider that about a third of the tithes of Ireland belong to laymen, and is inherited in the same manner as the other kind of rent. If the mode, by which alone tithes are allowed by law to be levied, is blameable, this may be a reason for a new modification or commutation; but cannot be a reason why one denomination of men should be deprived of their property, and those of another denomination, who have far less need of it, and who would in general do nothing for it, the owners of estates, should be endowed with it: for certainly an abolition of tithes, which in general equal not the twentieth part of the other species of rent, could bring only a temporary relief to the peasantry, unless together with the abolition, the legislature should enact that the tenants on all estates should continue to hold their lands, without increase of rent, for ever, or for a long term of years; as otherwise, on the expiration of each lease, the landlord would charge the full value

* Duigennan's State of Ireland, p. 58.

of the tithe, in addition to the ordinary rent, with which alone he must have contented himself if the land had remained still subject to tithe.

We are not, however, to regard republican revolutionists as the only description of men who consider the revenues of the church as a fit object of depredation. Of this the possession of a third of the tithes of the kingdom, acquired under the old established monarchy, by laymen, may perhaps be some proof. The glebes of many parishes have in times of profound peace been surreptitiously curtailed, or totally absorbed in the surrounding estates of the gentry. I have been astonished at hearing certain gentlemen declaim with most violent invectives against the French revolutionists, for their plundering of ecclesiastical property, while themselves were possessed of glebes, the property of the church, which they were determined by every chicane of law to detain from the rightful owners. But, though the clergy may complain of the usurpation of so great a portion of revenue, long appropriated to the church, yet perhaps to the possession of tithes by laymen may the clerical order ascribe, in some degree, its permission to retain the rest,

Men of estates and influence, who would most willingly vote for the abolition of this kind of rent, if it belonged exclusively to the ecclesiastical establishment, are prevented from that

measure by self-interest, when themselves are proprietors of tithes. That this must be the case can hardly be doubted, when we see some men of fortune so utterly averse to the payment of tithes to the clergy, while they carefully exact those which are their own property, that they avoid, much to their own loss, the tillage of the lands which they immediately occupy, lest they should augment the revenue of the clergyman: Of this I mean to give some instances in another publication.

As the emissaries of the union interested the feelings of the peasantry with respect to tithes, so also they endeavoured to prejudice the opinions of the laity in general against the hierarchy and other parts of the ecclesiastical establishment. They represented that, while the revenues of the Irish prelates amounted collectively to above eighty thousand pounds a year, besides large sums levied as fines on the leases of their lands; and while the revenues of chapters and parochial clergy amounted to above seven hundred thousand pounds annually *, the vast expences of this establishment were useless for the purposes of re-

* Doctor Duigenan in his *State of Ireland*, (London, 1799, page 60) supposes the whole revenues of the church of every nature scarcely to amount to two hundred thousand pounds a year. I have in another work, (*Gordon's Terraquea*, Vol. iii. p. 317, 318) supposed them at above eight hundred thousand, including impropriate tithes. Perhaps both suppositions may

ligion, or the encouragement or support of literature; since preferments were given solely from temporal or political motives, without regard to moral character or literary merit; and since the religious offices of the church were performed for about sixty thousand pounds a year, by a number of curates who laboured in penury and consequent contempt, for salaries, which compared to the revenues of the prelates, demonstrated a scandalous inequality, inversely proportionate to the utility of their employments. † To enter into any defence of the ecclesiastical establishment is not my object here, nor is this a fit place. All human regulations are liable to abuse; and we must admit that attention to the encouragement of literature and exemplary conduct in the parochial clergy in each diocese, or the neglect of patronage to these qualifications essentially

be wide of the reality. I have been long endeavouring to gain accurate information on this subject, for an intended publication, *the present State of the Church of Ireland*, which, when completed, will be given to the public.

Doctor Duigenan's authority is certainly of no small weight, and I take this opportunity of observing, that the clergy of the established church owe the highest gratitude to this gentleman for his repeated exertions in their favour.

† By an act of parliament since made, bishops are empowered to raise the salaries of curates to seventy-five pounds a year; and in some cases, where glebe-houses are unoccupied by the rectors, to ninety; whereas formerly fifty pounds only, constituted in general the annual salary.

necessary for the honour of the established church, depends on the personal character of the bishop. Hence family interest, and political considerations, predominate far less in respect of clerical promotions in some dioceses than in others. The remedy, however, proposed by some, the appointment to ecclesiastical benefices by popular election in the several parishes, would place affairs in a far worse condition. In the present state of landed property a popular election would virtually give the absolute nomination of the rector to the squire, or landlord, of the parish; in which case family interest would alone be considered, or sometimes perhaps qualifications little requisite for the proper discharge of clerical duties; for instance, the qualifications of a jolly pot-companion, a jovial singer, or a keen huntsman. We should then see gentlemen literally *hunting for preferment*, of which a few, even at present, are not without accusation.* If, which is by no means to be expected, the state of landed property should be so altered that

* An admirable and most laudable instance of lay patronage, was exhibited some years ago, by the Right Honourable David Latouche, who conferred the benefice of Clonnegall, worth six hundred pounds a year, in the diocese of Ferns, merely as a compensation for his long service as curate, on the Reverend John Browne, with whom he had not had the least previous acquaintance or connexion. Mr. Latouche had actually paid a high purchase for the presentation.

parochial elections might be popular in fact, as well as in name, the suffrages of the parishioners being left without control, real merit, always unassuming and incapable of stooping to mean artifice, would have little chance of success, in competition with presumptuous effrontery and low intrigue, among men ill fitted to form a right judgment in such a case, and easily deceived by impudent pretensions and crafty management.

Though the liberty of the press had been circumscribed much by the precautions of the legislature, means were found still to employ this engine to the augmentation of the popular discontent, and disposition to subvert the established government. Two papers, called the *Northern Star* and the *Press*, were printed in succession for that purpose, and industriously circulated. The former, instituted at Belfast, in the summer of 1797, was not suppressed otherwise than simply by an act of military execution; a party of soldiers taking possession of the printing-office and destroying the types: the latter, established in Dublin toward the close of the same year, and afterwards, (in consequence of a new law,) published under the name of Arthur O'Connor, as proprietor, or the person responsible for its contents, who is now known to have been then a member of the Irish directory, was interdicted by another act of parliament, which

has confined the liberty of printing and publishing within very narrow limits.

Another paper, "The Union Star appeared at regular periods, was printed on one side of the paper to fit it for being pasted on walls, and frequently second editions were published of the same numbers. It chiefly consisted of names and abusive characters of persons supposed to have been informers against United Irishmen, or active opposers of their designs; and to such lists were generally added the most furious exhortations to the populace to rise and take vengeance on their oppressors."*

To shew the spirit of this paper, privately printed, and industriously circulated, in which was recommended in plain terms the assassination of those whom the Union deemed enemies of their country, the following extract may be sufficient; "Let the indignation of man be raised against the impious wretch who profanely assumes the title of *reigning by the grace of God*, and impudently tells the world *he can do no wrong*— Irishmen! Is granting a patent, and offering premiums to murderers, to depopulate your country, and take your properties, no wrong? Is taking part of the spoil, no wrong? Is the foreign despot incapable of wrong, who sharpens the sword that deprives you of life,

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 27.

“ and exposes your children to povert and all
“ its consequent calamities? Oh, mar! or ra-
“ ther less, O king! will the smothered groans
“ of my countrymen, who in thy name fill the
“ innumerable dungeons you have made, for
“ asserting the rights of man, be considered no
“ wrongs? Will enlightened Irishmen believe
“ you incapable of wrong, who offer up the most
“ amiable of mankind daily on the scaffold, or the
“ gibbet, to thy insatiable ambition? Is burn-
“ ing the villages of what you call your people,
“ and shooting the trembling sufferers, no
“ wrong? Is taking the church into partner-
“ ship, and encouraging its idle and voluptu-
“ ous drones to despoil industry of its reward,
“ and teach a lying doctrine to sanction their
“ injustice, no wrong? Are the continual wars
“ you engender and provoke, to destroy man-
“ kind, no wrong? Go, impious blasphemer,
“ and your hypocritical sorcerers, to the fate,
“ philosophy, justice, and liberty consign thee.
“ It is inevitable; thy impositions are detected.
“ Thy kind have been brought to justice. The
“ first professor of thy trade has recently bled
“ for the crimes of the craft: his idle and vile
“ followers, who escaped the national axe, are
“ walking memorials of justice, begging a miser-
“ able livelihood over those countries, whose
“ tottering thrones encourage but an uncertain
“ asylum. Ere the grave, which is opening

“ for thy despised person embosoms thee, make
 “ one atonement for the vices of thy predecessors;
 “ resist not the claims of a people reduced
 “ to every misery; in thy name give back the
 “ properties that thy nation wrested from a
 “ suffering people; and let the descendents of
 “ those English ruffians restore to Irishmen their
 “ country, and to their country, liberty: ’tis
 “ rather late to trifle; one fortunate breeze may
 “ do it; and then, woe to him who was a tyrant,
 “ or who is unjust !” *

Of the *Press*—which was conducted in a
 superior style, and with less violence, yet with
 so much intemperance as to accelerate its ruin,
 together with a rigid restriction of newspaper
 publications, I shall give only this extract.
 “ The rule of right is a rule that in morals
 “ should never vary; but in these kingdoms to
 “ preach up *royalism* is the best rule; and the
 “ wisdom of government protects those who
 “ embrace this right side of the question, while
 “ it punishes with equal rectitude those who
 “ maintained that a *republic* is the only right
 “ form of government:—Let us apply this rule
 “ to the continent. France is not a nation of
 “ fools; and some among them have as much
 “ sense (God forgive them) as * * * *,—but
 “ no matter. The fools of France tell you that

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 27.

“ monarchy is a coat of arms, whose supporters
“ are the church and the aristocracy—its crest,
“ the bloody hand—and its motto, *Odi profanum*
“ *vulgus*; but that democracy, not possessing
“ these *rampant* wits is the ægis of wisdom,
“ whose *right rule* should govern the world.
“ Now these are *two rules of right*, both ap-
“ pearing on opposite principles—both pro-
“ nounced to be the very best for the govern-
“ ment of man, and each declared superior to
“ the other in excellence; yet a man shall be
“ punished alternately for observing this or
“ that, according to the air which he breathes.”*

Such were the effects of the various engines of the union, that before the end of the year 1797, the peasantry in the middle and southern counties of Ireland were generally sworn into the conspiracy, and preparing for insurrection. When the liberty of publication in the newspapers was, by new acts of parliament, so narrowly circumscribed as no longer to admit United Irishmen to avail themselves of this most valuable channel of communication, hand-bills were privately printed and dispersed for the conveyance of instructions and exhortations. By this and the oral modes of communication, instructions were conveyed through the whole body of the association to abstain from spirituous liquors, that the national consumption thereof

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 27.

might be diminished, and consequently the revenue and strength of government, arising from that great subject of excise. In one of the circular hand-bills, a hint of an approaching necessity of insurrection is followed by these words : " In the preparative interim let sobriety " be national and unchangeable ; by abstaining " totally from the use of *spirituous liquors* you " will destroy the excise, which is the only " branch of revenue remaining, whence is produced the *principal strength of government* ; you " will prevent the distillation of grain, which " consumes near *double the quantity* that is " otherwise used for the necessaries of life ; you " will consequently make bread one-third " cheaper, benefit the community, and embarrass " your enemies."* The leaders of the union might have also had in view the advantages of sobriety in its members for the promotion of its ends ; as without it neither the secrets entrusted to the lower classes could be supposed so secure, nor their co-operation so regular and effectual when an order should be issued to take arms. This instruction was obeyed so well, that a striking change was quickly perceived in the generality of the common people from drunkenness to sobriety—a change which, for my part, I at first attributed to another cause, the fear of exposing themselves to the danger of

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 25.

arrest by the king's troops, who had orders to stop all persons after a certain hour of the night. However blameable the purpose of the United Irish leaders in this instruction, this particular step taken to promote that purpose is not to be regretted; and the truest loyalists must wish its effect permanent, since any defect of royal revenue thereby occasioned could be amply supplied from other sources, in consequence of the habits of sobriety and order among the lower people, with which economy and industry have a natural connection.

Another instruction given with a design to embarrass government, with respect to the public revenue, could be attended with no such good influence. This was a caution against the purchase of the quit rents of the crown, which were to be sold for the raising of supplies, and against the acceptance of bank-notes, or paper money, in place of coin, in pecuniary dealings. With this design were distributed hand-bills, contrived for the depreciation of government securities in general.—One of these, addressed in the name of the United Irishmen to the landed and monied interests of Ireland, runs in these words: “Whereas it has been proposed
“by the *chancellor of the exchequer* to sell the
“*quit rents* of the crown, in order to raise
“new supplies for the prosecution of this
“unjust, unnecessary, and ruinous war: now

“ we, the United Irishmen, impelled by a sense
“ of public duty, and sincere regard to the
“ *rights of property*, think fit to give you this
“ public caution, that no such fraudulent trans-
“ action, consuming by anticipation the resources
“ and future revenues of the nation, will be
“ sufficient to stand good in the event of a
“ revolution and a free legislature; a fair and
“ solid bargain must have the sanction of due
“ authority: but this, as well as every other
“ loan or contract, now in agitation, is in itself
“ invalidated by the nefariousness of its object,
“ and the incompetency of the present parlia-
“ ment to bind the nation by any act whatsoever,
“ as it is notorious to the whole world that it
“ was named by the crown under the *terrors of*
“ *martial law*; that there exists in it no freedom
“ of action—but that it is the bought base
“ instrument of supporting an exterminating
“ government and foreign dominion. *After*
“ *this, let the dupes blame themselves.*”

Of a hand-bill distributed with design to obstruct the circulation of bank-notes, and termed a caution to the brethren, the following is an extract: “ Those appointed by you to super-
“ intend your interests, have from time to time
“ sent you such advice or information as they
“ were enabled, from reflection or enquiry, to
“ offer for your advantage and the general good.
“ Still actuated by the same principle of zeal

“and fidelity, they deem it their duty to caution
“you against the immense quantity of bank-
“notes, which government is fabricating without
“bounds. We need not tell you that the value of
“any bank-note rests upon the credit of him who
“issues it. And in our opinion, the issuer of
“this paper is a bankrupt, who, in all likelihood,
“must shortly shut up and *run away*. The pre-
“sent convenience of circulation will be but poor
“amends for the subsequent beggary and ruin
“it will bring on the holders; for you know that
“it will be waste-paper, and must stop some
“where, as soon as there is a *burst*, and that the
“possessor (*God help him*) will be robbed of so
“much property as he has taken it for.”* In
“consequence of this monition the members of
the union, and those who were influenced by
them, declined the acceptance of this paper
money, and great inconvenience was felt in
pecuniary transactions; but the circulation was
forced, for the tender of bank-notes amounted
to legal payment, the rejection of which can-
celled the debt; and those who refused to part
with their goods for money of this description,
were liable to be heavily amerced by the quar-
tering of soldiers on their houses.

Hand-bills also were employed to assist the
emissaries in attempts to seduce the army—
attempts which had commenced so early as the

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 28.

year 1792, but which were, by the active circum-
spection of government, particularly that most
wise measure of augmenting the pay of the
military, rendered abortive. Of one of these
distributed papers, signed *Shamroc*, dated the
27th of March, 1798, and addressed from
Westmeath to the soldiers of Ireland, calculated
to interest the feelings of these men, the fol-
lowing is an extract. “ My countrymen, what
“ can you say when you hear of scenes of blood
“ acting on the spot where your native hamlets
“ once stood, but now no more : their owners,
“ your friends, either sent to seek repose in the
“ grave by the hands of these villainous Orange
“ murderers, or immured in the damp and dreary
“ dungeons of the bastiles of this country :
“ pining in chill despondency, waiting for a
“ trial seldom obtained, and when obtained,
“ acquitted, after years of dreary solitary con-
“ finement !! Some hurried on board prison-
“ ships—some actually transported to the set-
“ tlements on the coast of Africa—others sent
“ to serve in the West Indies, certain victims to
“ the climate, or left to rot, chained in the hold
“ of a filthy coasting vessel ! Your wives
“ despoiled to gratify the insatiable lust of
“ these ravishers !—And these scenes, my coun-
“ trymen, suffered to go unpunished by those
“ in power, whom you protect ; to whose
“ frowns your array adds terror ; to whom you

“ give your support : for unless you please, they
“ vanish ; without your protection these despots
“ fall—these desolators, that each day refine on
“ such bloody deeds, would perish, and your
“ country be free. My brave countrymen ! do
“ not let the world call us dastards : no, let us
“ shew the world we are men, and, above all,
“ that we are Irishmen. Let every man among
“ you feel the injuries your country, yourselves
“ have suffered ; the insults you have received,
“ the stripes that have been dealt with an un-
“ merciful hand on those brave comrades who
“ dared to think and feel for their country—
“ If you do, the glorious work will be complete,
“ and in the union of the citizen and his brave
“ fellow-soldier, the world (hitherto taught to
“ look down upon us with contempt) will see
“ that we can emancipate our country ; we will
“ convince surrounding nations that Irish sol-
“ diers have avowed and adopted a maxim they
“ will maintain, or perish—namely, *that every*
“ *man should be a soldier in defence of his liberty,*
“ *but none to take away the liberty of others.*”*

While every engine of internal opposition against government was put in motion, the Irish directory maintained a constant intercourse with the French, whose aid for the accomplishment of the revolution was earnestly solicited. After several more early communications between the

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 30.

leading members of the union and those of the French government, by the medium of some Irish fugitives at Paris, a formal intimation in 1796, as I have already mentioned, was given by one of those fugitives, supposed to be Theobald Wolfe Tone, that, on a representation of the state affairs, the French directory had come to a resolution to send a force into Ireland, for the purpose of co-operating with that of the conspirators. Acquiescing in this proposal, after an extraordinary meeting for its consideration, the chiefs of the conspiracy sent with this advice a messenger, said to be Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who, accompanied by Arthur O'Connor, went by Hamburgh to Switzerland, where near the French frontier, he met Hoche, the French general, and is thought to have there concerted with him the plan of operation. In the October of the same year an accredited messenger arrived in Ireland from France, announcing the design of invasion with an army of fifteen thousand men, which was attempted near the end of the following December, in the abortive expedition to the bay of Bantry. To solicit the assistance of another armament from France, which had been expected after the failure of the first, a confidential agent, named Lewins, was deputed, who, leaving London in March, 1797, and passing through Hamburgh; arrived about the end of May, in Paris, where

he afterwards remained as the ambassador of the Irish Union to the French directory.

From a fear that a premature insurrection, unaided from abroad, the suppression of which might ruin their scheme, should be forced by the vigorous measures, already related, adopted by government in the province of Ulster—a most confidential member of the directory, Doctor William James M'Nevin, who had acted as the secretary of this ruling committee, was, at the end of June, in the same year, sent with orders to press the French government, with redoubled earnestness for immediate aid. Meeting at Hamburgh with an agent of the French republic, and finding some difficulty in the procuring of a passport, M'Nevin transmitted a memorial by this agent to Paris, where he himself afterwards delivered a second, having obtained permission to proceed on his journey. In the former of these memoirs were made a statement of the condition of the United Irish, and of the kingdom in general, for the reception of the French auxiliaries; a promise of reimbursement to the French government of its expences in the emancipation of Ireland, and a demand of a body of troops not exceeding ten thousand men, nor falling short of five thousand, with artillery, ammunition, and arms for the supply of the insurgents. In the latter was adduced every argument which the writer con-

ceived, for the hastening of the expedition. A request, which entirely failed, was also made by the Irish negociators, of a loan of half a million, or at least three hundred thousand pounds, from France and Spain, successively, on the security of the ecclesiastical and other lands destined for confiscation by the revolutionists.* The assistance, however, of a military force was conceded, and an army much greater than had been requested, consisting of fifteen thousand men was embarked for this purpose in a Dutch fleet at the Texel, under the command of General Daendells; but the fear of the British navy, superior in strength, occasioned a sudden debarkation of these troops; and when, contrary to the judgment of its admiral, this armament was obliged to sail, at the instance of the French directory, it was totally defeated on the eleventh of October, 1797, by a squadron of British vessels under the command of Lord Viscount Duncan.

Still after this disappointment, hopes of new succours from France were sedulously encouraged, and the members of the union admonished to be in a state of preparation to receive them. In February, 1798, instructions in detail were issued from the military committee to the adjutant-generals, concerning the modes of preparing for open warfare against government,

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 31.

and to the several regiments concerning their arms and appointments.—To extend the organization, to augment the military stores, and to add in every way to the strength of the conspiracy, continued to be the immediate object of its partisans till the arrival of their allies; and the system of terror, by nocturnal plundering of arms, individual assassination, and other kinds of outrage, which had been adopted in the north, was put in practice in the south. To give a catalogue of all the particular acts of atrocity which have come within my knowledge, committed on obnoxious persons, would trespass on the reader's patience, and add very little to his information. I shall mention one, as an instance, which happened not many miles from my place of abode. The stacks of corn and the offices of a gentlewoman named Sherwood, near Carnew, in the county of Wicklow, whose family were in the habit of speaking in very intemperate language against the Romanists, were set on fire at once in the night by persons unknown, and wholly consumed, with twenty cows, beside horses and other cattle, the bellowings of which, amid the flames, were truly horrible. The dwelling-house, with its inhabitants, would have probably shared the same fate, if the fire could have communicated to it on the outside, from which it was protected by the slated roof.

But while on one side the chiefs of the United Irish proceeded in their plans, with a resolution to avoid, if possible, an insurrection, till by the landing of the French auxiliaries, or some other favourable event, their prospect of success might be nearly certain, or highly probable, the government, on the other, was determined to disorganize their system, if possible, and to destroy the strength of the conspiracy, before such an event should occur. After the proclaiming of many districts in the southern and midland counties, the imprisonment and transportation of many persons, and other acts of power, a very severe wound was inflicted on the union by the arrest of the thirteen members composing the provincial committee of Leinster, with other principals of the conspiracy, at the house of Oliver Bond of Bridge-street, in Dublin, on the 12th of March. This arrest was grounded on the information of Thomas Reynolds, a Roman catholic gentleman, of a place called Kilkea-castle, in the county of Kildare, colonel of an United Irish regiment, treasurer of the county of Kildare, and provincial delegate for Leinster, who having travelled in the same carriage with William Cope, a wealthy and respectable merchant of Merrion-square, in Dublin, about the twenty-fifth of the preceding month, had been induced by the arguments of that gentleman, and the picture which he drew of the horrors of a revolutionary

war in Ireland, to disclose for the use of government what he knew of the conspiracy—pretending, however, to receive from time to time his information from another person, not to be himself the original informer.—In this arrest were included the most able and active leaders of the union—Thomas Addis Emmet, a lawyer of prime abilities; Doctor William James M'Nevin; Arthur O'Connor, and Oliver Bond. The vacancies made in the directory and elsewhere, by the seizure of these and other persons, were quickly filled, but with men less fit for the arduous attempt of overturning an old government, and establishing a new. To prevent a despondency among the members of the union on this occasion, a hand-bill, dated on St. Patrick's day, the seven-teenth of March, was distributed, of which the following is an extract.

“ For us, the keen but momentary anxiety, occasioned by the situation of our invaluable friends, subsided, on learning all the circumstances of the case, into a calm tranquillity, a consoling conviction of mind, that they are as safe as innocence can make them now; and to these sentiments were quickly added a redoubled energy, a tenfold activity of exertion, which has already produced the happiest effects. *The organization of the capital is perfect.* No vacancies existing, arrangements have been made, and are still making, to secure for our oppres-

“sed brethren, whose trials approach, the benefit
“of legal defence; and the sentinels whom you
“have appointed to watch over your interests,
“stand firm at their posts, vigilant of events,
“and prompt to give you notice and advice,
“which, on every occasion at all requiring it,
“rely on receiving.—This recital, Irishmen, is
“meant to guard those of you who are remote
“from the scene of the late events, against the
“consequences of misrepresentation and mistake.
“The most unfounded rumours have been set
“afloat, fabricated for the double purpose of de-
“lusion and intimidation. Your enemies *talk*
“of treachery, in the vain and fallacious hope
“of *creating* it; but you, who scorn equally to
“be their dupes or their slaves, will meet their for-
“geries with dignified contempt, incapable of
“being either goaded into untimely violence,
“or sunk into pusillanimous despondency. Be
“firm, Irishmen—but be cool and cautious; be
“patient yet a while; trust to no unauthorised
“communications; and above all, we warn you
“—again and again we warn you—against do-
“ing the work of your tyrants, by *premature*, by
“*partial*, or *divided* exertion.” If Ireland shall
“be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be
“at *her own time*, not at *theirs*.”*

This and the other arrests, and other strong measures to which the government had hitherto

* Appendix to the Report, &c. No. 25.

had recourse, though very debilitating to the conspiracy, were far from sufficient to destroy its force, or prevent its final success. Partial proclamations, or the putting of districts under the severity of the new laws enacted to prevent insurrection, had only a partial effect; the audacity of the united in Leinster and Munster yielding so little on the whole amount, that many acts of hostility were committed against the peaceable inhabitants by men assembled in large numbers; an instance of which has been thought worthy of notice in the report of the secret committee of the commons house of parliament; that a body of men amounting to about eight hundred, mostly on horseback, had entered the town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, openly in the day, and held possession of it until they collected all the arms and ammunition which they could find after a regular search through all the houses. At length recourse was had to a general proclamation and military execution. In the former, dated March the thirtieth, 1798, was a declaration, that a traitorous conspiracy, existing within the kingdom, for the destruction of the established government, had been considerably extended, and had manifested itself in acts of open violence and rebellion; and that in consequence thereof, the most direct and positive orders had been issued to the officers commanding his Majesty's forces to employ them

with the utmost vigour and decision, for the immediate suppression of this conspiracy, and for the disarming of the rebels and all disaffected persons, by the most summary and effectual measures.

To Sir Ralph Abercrombie, then chief commander of the forces, orders were issued from the lord lieutenant to proceed with his army into the disturbed counties, vested with full powers to act according to his discretion for the attainment of the proposed object. A manifesto, dated from his head quarters at Kildare, the third of April, was addressed to the inhabitants of the county by the general, requiring them to surrender their arms in the space of ten days from the date of the notice, threatening, in case of non-compliance, to distribute large bodies of troops among them to live at free quarter—promising rewards to such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition—and ~~de-~~ *an* nouncing his resolution of recurring to other severities if the county should still continue in a disturbed state. *

On the advance of the military into each county, the same notice was given to its inhabitants, and at the expiration of the term prescribed, the troops were quartered on the houses of the disaffected or suspected, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the

* Appendix to the report, &c. Nos. 36 and 37.

owners, whose pecuniary circumstances were often deeply injured by the maintenance of the soldiery, and the waste which was otherwise made of their effects. Great numbers of houses, with their furniture, were burned, where concealed arms were found—where meetings of the united had been held, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or of other practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Many of the common people, and some even in circumstances of life superior to that class, particularly in the city of Dublin, were scourged, some picketed, or otherwise put to pain, to force a confession of concealed arms or plots. Some irregularities may naturally be supposed also committed by common soldiers, without the approbation or knowledge of their officers, in such a state of affairs, and many acts of severity by persons not in the regular troops—some from an unfeigned, and others from an affected zeal for the service of the crown. These various vexations amounted on the whole to such a mass of disquietude and distress, that the exhortations of the chiefs to bear their evils with steady patience, until an opportunity of successful insurrection should occur, proved vain with the lower classes. Such numbers of these in the months of April and May were surrendering their arms, taking the oath of allegiance, and giving information against their

officers and seducers, particularly in the counties of Kildare and Tipperary, which were by these means in great measure disorganized, that the chiefs of the union, fearing a total derangement of their scheme, and destruction of their force, before a favourable opportunity of revolt should arrive, came to a determination to try their strength against government, without the assistance of their French allies, and a plan for the purpose was accordingly digested by the military committee.

To authorize the burning of houses and furniture, the wisdom of administration may have seen as good reason as for other acts of severity, though to me and many others that reason is not clear. These burnings doubtless caused no small terror and consternation to the disaffected, but they caused also a loss to the community at large, rendered many quite desperate who were deprived of all, and augmented the violence of hatred in those among whom these houseless people took refuge. The destruction of corn and other provisions, of which great quantities were consumed by fire, together with houses, was, in my opinion, worse than impolitic; and its effects were felt in dearth and famine for two years after. Probably in this, as in other cases, the lower actors in the political scene sometimes exceeded the limits within which the wisdom of administration would have confined them, if that had been practicable,

after these had once been vested with authority. Some of the lowest actors were in fact ready enough in other cases to exceed such limits. Men imprisoned on suspicion, or private information, were sometimes half-hanged, (as the act was termed), or strangled almost to death, before their guilt or innocence could be ascertained by trial, by such men as serjeants in the militia, without the knowledge, as I suppose, of their officers. Reflecting loyalists were much concerned at the permission or impunity of such acts, which tended so strongly to confirm the prejudices already so laboriously excited by the emissaries of sedition.

Among the causes which, in the troubled interval of time, previous to the grand insurrection, contributed to the general uneasiness, were the insults practised by pretended zealots, to the annoyance of the truest loyalists as well as malecontents, on persons who wore their hair short, or happened to have any part of their apparel of a green colour, both of which were considered as emblems of a republican or of a revolutionary spirit. Short unpowdered hair had been affected by persons in Britain, supposed to be republicans; yet the same was also worn by many loyalists for convenience.* The term *croppy*, however, was

* Short hair, about which so senseless a bustle was made, was found so convenient, that it was generally adopted after the rebellion, even by those who had instigated outrages on account of it.

adopted in Ireland to signify a revolutionist, or enemy to the established government, without regard to the length or form of the hair. As green had been adopted by the Irish malecontents as the revolutionary colour, in imitation of the shamroc, it was justly an object of reprobation, when worn intentionally as a badge of party; but accidentally, and without reflexion on the consequence, many loyalists, particularly among the fair sex, had this colour in some part of their dress, as handkerchiefs with green stripes, green bonnets, green petticoats, green ribbons, or green shoes. * Persons of malevolent minds took advantage of these circumstances to indulge their general malignity or private malice, when they could with impunity. On the heads of many who were selected as objects of outrage, were fixed caps of course linen or strong brown paper, smeared with pitch on the inside, which in some instances adhered so firmly as not to be

* I heard a clergyman (not now indeed in the diocese of Ferns) boasting of the following act of an officer, as if it had been really an heroic exploit. Two young ladies, in passing some soldiers and an officer in Dublin, jocularly pronounced a word well known at that time to have been in use among the united Irish. The officer immediately seized the ladies, and finding, as he said, green garters on them, caused them to be tied back to back, and to remain some hours in that position in the street under a guard. Did this hero afterwards fight the rebels? If he were commander in a battle, he would kill vast numbers—on paper.

disengaged without a laceration of the hair and even skin. An insult of this kind attempted on a mistaken object in Wicklow, in April, 1798, was in danger of being followed by fatal effects. A detachment of the North-Cork militia, in their march to Gorey, meeting and beginning to maltreat a soldier with short hair, of the Downshire militia, who, being servant to an officer, was not at the time dressed in military uniform, were furiously repulsed by some of the Downshire soldiers, who ran to the rescue of their colleague, and a bloody conflict would have ensued, if it had not been prevented by the extraordinary exertions of the officers on both sides, three of whom, beside many of the soldiers, were wounded in the fray.

Among the species of injuries to which men were innocently exposed, in the turbid state of the kingdom, preceding the grand insurrection, was this, that numbers of malignant persons, mostly, I suppose, perhaps all, of the united party, made it a practice to seize violently such as they thought proper, or were able, and to crop or cut their hair short, which rendered them liable to the outrage of the pitched cap of those who were, or rather pretended to be, strenuous partisans of the established constitution. Handkerchiefs, ribbons, and other parts of dress marked with the obnoxious colour, were torn or cut away from females unconscious of disloyalty,

and undesignedly bearing the imaginary badge. Various other violent acts were committed, so far as to cut away pieces of men's ears, even sometimes the whole ear, or a part of the nose: nor could the staunchest loyalists be certain always of exemption from insult by being clear of all imaginary marks of disloyalty; for on the arrival of a detachment of the army in any part of the country where the inhabitants were unknown to the officers and soldiers, which was almost always the case, private malice was apt to convey in whispers false intelligence, marking individuals, perhaps the best members of society, as proper objects of military outrage.

That those who were most active to combat these outrages, or to instigate others to the commission of them, were not the best friends of government, I have good reason to suppose. Their conduct, whatever may have been their motives, was evidently adapted to augment the number and rage the malecontents, which, in concurrence with other circumstances, might have produced very fatal effects: besides, that in the hour of danger, when the great insurrection took place, and government stood in need of the most vigorous exertions of its friends, most of these agitators of insult stood aloof, and the rest, so far as my experience and information extends, were very shy in their movements against the rebels, and cautious of their personal safety; a conduct

which implied either a defect of courage or of loyalty. The following instance of this mode of proceeding touches the extreme. A young gentleman of a robust frame and healthy constitution, a furious declaimer against croppies, and a private instigator of military insult, fled at the commencement of the insurrection to a town twenty miles distant from the lines of the rebels, where he remained very quiet until the rebellion was totally suppressed: he then returned to his habitation, and with becoming modesty resumed his former language of ostentatious loyalty, together with a flaming suit of military uniform, and a martial air.

By the system of secret accusation and espionage, necessarily adopted, with other extraordinary measures, in this dangerous crisis, government unavoidably made ample room for the exertions of private malice. Magistrates and military officers were empowered to receive informations, to keep the names of the informers profoundly secret, and to proceed against the accused according to discretion. I shall not suppose that any magistrate could have pretended to receive information, which he had not received, for the indulgence of his private spite against any individual; but some of the gentlemen invested with these new powers were led into grievous errors by false informers, whose names notwithstanding have never been divulged. One in-

stance I shall mention, as it has been already made public in the newspapers, and has given cause for a debate in parliament. Thomas Fitzgerald, high shériff of Tipperary, seized at Clonmel, a gentleman of the name of Wright, against whom no grounds of suspicion could be conjectured by his neighbours, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him several days without permitting his wounds to be dressed, so that his recovery from such a state of torture and laceration could hardly be expected. In a trial at law, after the rebellion, on an action of damages brought by Wright against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudices ran amazingly high against persons accused of disloyalty, that the defendant was condemned to pay five hundred pounds to his prosecutor. Many other actions of damage on similar grounds would have been commenced, if the parliament had not put a stop to such proceedings, by an act of indemnity, for all errors committed by magistrates from supposed zeal for the public service. A letter written in the French language, found in the pocket of Wright, was hastily considered as a proof of guilt, though the letter was of a perfectly innocent nature. This magistrate, however, whose want of knowledge of the French language confirmed, or seemed to

confirm, him in so lamentable an error and outrage, seems to have had great merit in the prevention of rebellion in that county by his unremitting activity and boisterous exertions; though these unfortunately were too often ill-directed, as, among other instances, against a Mr. Scott, a respectable gentleman, who was in the most imminent danger of falling an innocent victim to the precipitancy or mis-information of this officer of justice.

These disorders, unavoidable in such a state of affairs, increased with the alarm of the approaching insurrection, which the chiefs of the union, seeing its force declining, and in danger of being destroyed by the vigorous measures of government, appointed to commence on the twenty-third of May, without waiting for French auxiliaries, lest, before that aid should arrive, their system should be so disorganized as to be incapable of any promising effort. Among the precautions taken on this occasion by the members of government, who were fully informed of the intended revolt, was the augmentation of the several companies of armed yeomen, by the addition of supplementary men, mostly infantry, and without uniform. These yeomen had begun to be embodied in October, in the year 1796, in a kind of independent companies, each composed commonly of about fifty men, mostly cavalry, with a much smaller body

of infantry attached to them, and each generally commanded by a captain and two lieutenants. The infantry were armed like those of the regular army, but the cavalry were furnished with only one pistol and a sword each, excepting a few who had carbines. In the formation of the companies or corps of yeomen, to appoint the far greater part of them cavalry was an error, as the event clearly proved; for in the rebellion which ensued, the yeomen infantry, supported by regular troops, fought steadily against the foe; while the horsemen, from the nature of the country, uneven with hills, and every where intersected with ditches—their want of proper subordination and discipline, and the facility of escape, were of little use except for patrols or expresses, though their horses were superior to those of the regular cavalry in the traversing of ditches and fields. If these troops had been habituated to dismount and engage on foot with carbines, their service might have been of considerable effect; but, as the matter was, they could hardly ever be brought to a charge on the rebels, or to make a retreat with regularity.

The cause of this error in the institution of armed yeomen, of the appointment of mostly horsemen instead of infantry, so little efficacious for the end proposed, and so oppressive to individuals of the poorer sort, who were obliged to furnish horses at their own expence, and main-

tain them without much assistance of pay, was by some supposed to be the jealousy of government, who suspected a general disaffection of the people, and feared to give sanction to such a military establishment, as, like the old volunteers, might become a dangerous engine of popular demands, under the influence of designing men. But the protestants of Ireland in general are too apprehensive of the hostile determination of the Romanists against them, ever fully to coalesce with that body in an armed opposition to government; so that, with few exceptions, if the real sentiments of this description of people had been known, administration might have reposed the fullest confidence in them. In that case the difference of pay to cavalry and footmen might have been saved, and the rebellion probably stifled in its commencement, or at least much more speedily suppressed.

A necessary precaution was the arresting of several principals of the conspiracy. Among the persons apprehended at this critical time, was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had escaped the arrest made at Oliver Bond's house, on the twelfth of the preceding March. This gentleman had served in his majesty's army, where he had been highly esteemed for his courage and military conduct, his honour, humanity, and candour; but because he avowed his approbation of the revolution in France, his name was

expunged from the military list, as a person unworthy to bear a commission in the British army. Perhaps his expressions were stronger than propriety admitted; and, perhaps, on the other hand, this procedure of administration was imprudent, since it was nearly followed by disastrous consequences, and since on men of candour and frankness, dependance can be much more safely placed, than on those who express unqualified approbation of the ruling party—such men being generally ready to act the same part on the opposite side, with change of circumstances.

Lord Edward, who was brother to the duke of Leinster, and married to a French lady of the royal blood of the Capets, a daughter of the last duke of Orleans, was eminently qualified for the excitement and direction of revolutionary commotions, being a man of daring courage, a most active spirit, considerable abilities of mind, and being of a family highly respected for its ancient greatness by the lower classes of the Irish. In consequence of a proclamation issued on the eleventh of May, accompanied with a promise of a thousand pounds reward for his apprehension, he was seized on the nineteenth, in the house of Nicholas Murphy, a merchant in Thomas-street, Dublin, by William Bellingham Swan, a most active magistrate, town-major Sirr, and captain Ryan, a yeoman officer, a gentleman possessed

of great courage ; but his lordship made so desperate a defence, with no other arms than a dagger, that Swan was wounded, and Ryan died of his wounds eleven days after. Lord Edward himself expired in great agony on the third of the following month, from the effects of this furious conflict, as he had been wounded in the shoulder by the shot of a pistol from major Sirr.

On the nineteenth and twenty-first of May, several other arrests were made, and among the arrested were Henry and John Sheares, brothers, natives of Cork, men of great abilities, and lawyers, who had made a visit to Paris in 1792, where they had imbibed very deeply revolutionary ideas ; had, on their return to Ireland, been active in the united conspiracy, and had, as we have good reason to believe, at last been raised to the fatal eminence of the directorial committee. From a belief of his being an United Irishman—a belief doubtless impressed by some dextrous management on his part, and the hope of his co-operation in the business—they confided the secret of the time and plan of the insurrection to Captain Armstrong, of the King's County militia, who had procured an introduction to them through the medium of Patrick Byrne, bookseller of Grafton-street, Dublin. The intelligence occasionally received by this officer, who had procured his introduction for the service of government, was regularly con-

veyed to the lord lieutenant. In the house of Henry Sheares, at the time of his arrest, and in the hand-writing of John, was found a manifesto evidently intended for publication after the capital should be in possession of the conspirators. In this were expressed very sanguinary sentiments, quite contrary, as I have reason to believe, to the natural disposition of these gentlemen; but, in the poet's phrase, "to shut the "gates of mercy on mankind,"* may be a maxim with revolutionists; and, in fact, the severe and terrible measures to which government, for the preservation of its existence, had been obliged to have recourse, must naturally excite a spirit of revenge and cruelty in the malecontent faction: yet the former members of the directory, among whom was Thomas Addis Emmett, had intended to avoid bloodshed as much as possible, and only to banish those who should prove refractory, allowing their families a maintenance out of their properties.† If the affairs of the union had continued to be conducted with the ability of these former members, probably the government, with all its vigilance, would have been overturned, greatly, I apprehend, to the detriment of the British islands and Europe in general.

The above-mentioned manifesto, which was

* Gray's Elegy in a Country Church-yard.

† Appendix to the report, &c. No. 31.

not quite finished for publication, ran in the following terms. " Irishmen, your country is
" free, and you are about to be avenged. That
" vile government, which has so long and so
" cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of
" its most atrocious monsters have already paid
" the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in
" our hands. The national flag, the *sacred*
" *green*, is at this moment flying over the ruins
" of despotism ; and that capital, which a few
" hours past had witnessed the debauchery, the
" plots, and the crimes of your tyrants, is now
" the citadel of triumphant patriotism and vir-
" tue. Arise then, united sons of Ireland, arise
" like a great and powerful people, determined
" to live free, or die. Arm yourselves by every
" means in your power, and rush like lions on
" your foes. Consider that for every enemy
" you disarm, you arm a friend, and thus be-
" come doubly powerful. In the cause of liberty,
" inaction is cowardice ; and the coward shall
" forfeit the property he has not the courage to
" protect. Let his arms be secured and trans-
" ferred to those gallant spirits who want and
" will use them. Yes, Irishmen, we swear by
" that Eternal Justice, in whose cause you fight,
" that the brave patriot who survives the present
" glorious struggle, and the family of him who
" has fallen, or hereafter shall fall in it, shall re-
" ceive from the hands of a grateful nation an

“ ample recompense out of that property which
“ the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into
“ its hands, and his name shall be inscribed on
“ the great national record of Irish revolution,
“ as a glorious example to all posterity ; but we
“ likewise swear to punish robbery with death
“ and infamy. We also swear that we will
“ never sheath the sword till every being in the
“ country is restored to those equal rights which
“ the God of nature has given to all men ; until
“ an order of things shall be established in which
“ no superiority shall be acknowledged among
“ the citizens of Erin but that of virtue and
“ talent. As for those degenerate wretches who
“ turn their swords against their native country,
“ the national vengeance awaits them : Let them
“ find no quarter, unless they shall prove their
“ repentance by speedily exchanging the stand-
“ ard of slavery for that of freedom, under
“ which their former errors may be buried, and
“ they may share the glory and advantages that
“ are due to the patriot bands of Ireland. Many
“ of the military feel the love of liberty glow
“ within their breasts, and have joined the na-
“ tional standard. Receive with open arms
“ such as shall follow so glorious an example—
“ they can render signal service to the cause of
“ freedom, and shall be rewarded according to
“ their deserts. But for the wretch who turns
“ his sword against his native country, let the

“ national vengeance be visited on him; let him
“ find no quarter. Two other crimes demand
“ ***** Rouse all the energies of your
“ souls: call forth all the merit and abilities
“ which a vicious government consigned to
“ obscurity; and under the conduct of your
“ chosen leaders march with a steady step to
“ victory. Heed not the glare of hired soldiery
“ or aristocratic yeomanry: they cannot stand
“ the vigorous shock of freedom. Their trap-
“ pings and their arms will soon be yours; and
“ the detested government of England, to which
“ we vow eternal hatred, shall learn, that the
“ treasures it exhausts on its accoutered slaves,
“ for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall
“ but further enable us to turn their swords on
“ its devoted head. Attack them in every di-
“ rection by day and by night: avail yourselves
“ of the natural advantages of your country,
“ which are innumerable, and with which you
“ are better acquainted than they. Where you
“ cannot oppose them in full force, constantly
“ harass their rear and their flanks: cut off
“ their provisions and magazines, and prevent
“ them as much as possible from uniting their
“ forces: let whatever moments you cannot de-
“ vote to fighting for your country, be passed
“ in learning how to fight for it, or preparing
“ the means of war—for war, war alone must

“ occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland,
“ until its long oppressed soil be purged of all
“ its enemies. Vengeance, Irishmen—vengeance
“ on your oppressors. Remember what thou-
“ sands of your dearest friends have perished by
“ their merciless orders—Remember their burn-
“ ings, their rackings, their torturings, their
“ military massacres, and their legal murders—
“ Remember Orr !” *

* Appendix to the report, &c. No. 20. William Orr, a man of good family and connexions, had been hanged at Carrickfergus for high treason.

CHAP. II.

Insurrection—Mail-Coach—Skirmishes—Prosperous—Naas—Kilcullon—Martial Law—Carlow—Sir Edward Crosbie—Monasterevan—Hacketstown—Tarah—Rathangan—Surrendry at Knockawlin—Gibbit-rath—County of Wexford—Mountnorris—Terror of whippings—Father John Murphy—Kilthomas—Oulart—Enniscorthy—Wexford—Arrest—Mission of Colclough—Three Rocks—Meath Militia—Repulse of Col. Maxwell—Wexford evacuated—Gorey—Earl of Courtown—Arklow—Newtownbarry—Camps—Ballycanoo—Walpole—Tubberneering—Ross—Scullabogue—Slyeevekeelter—Lacken—Arklow—Skerrett.

BY such arrests, and other precautions, the plan of insurrection was frustrated, which was to commence on the night of the 23d of May, by an attack on the army encamped at Lehaunstown, or Laughlinstown, seven miles south of Dublin—an attack on the artillery stationed at Chapelizod, two miles west of the same—an attack on the castle, and other parts of the metropolis, as soon as the news of the two former assaults should reach the city, in all which the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare were to co-operate—and the destruction or detention of the mail-coaches on the north and south roads,

which was to serve as a signal of insurrection to the rest of the kingdom. The plot had been announced late in the evening of the 21st, by a letter from the secretary of the lord lieutenant to Thomas Fleming, the lord mayor of Dublin, and on the 22d by a message from the lord lieutenant to both houses of parliament; and to prevent its execution, the troops of the line, militia, and yeomanry, were disposed under arms in what were supposed to be the most advantageous positions. By a variety of precautions the capital was restrained in tranquillity; but in the neighbouring counties, notwithstanding the disorganisation of the confederacy by the various operations of government, the appointment was observed by considerable numbers; the mail-coaches on the northern, western, and southern roads were destroyed; the first at Santry, three miles from Dublin; the second between Lucan and Leixlip, eight miles from the same; and the third near Naas, fifteen miles from the capital; insurgents assembled in many places; and in that night and the following day several skirmishes were fought, and the towns of Naas, Claine, Prosperous, Ballymore-Eustace, and Kilcullen were attacked; as were also, in the next succeeding night and day, those of Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monasterevan.

Among the skirmishes of the recent insurrection were those which took place near Rathfarn-

ham, Tallagh, Lucan, Lusk, Dunboyne, Barretstown, Collon, and Baltinglass. In all these petty actions, except those near Dunboyne and Barretstown, and in all the attacks of towns, except that of Prosperous, the insurgents were defeated, though Kilcullen was abandoned to them after their defeat. In these and other conflicts in the course of the rebellion, the number of the killed and wounded of the rebels is extremely uncertain, and almost always vastly exaggerated in the public prints. The action near Dunboyne, eight miles from Dublin, in the county of Meath, was the surprise of a small party of the regiment of Reay fencibles by a body of rebels, who seized the baggage of two companies of the king's troops escorted by the above party; and that near Barretstown was also a surprise of a small body of the Suffolk fencibles, who lost all their baggage in their march to Kildare. The engagement in the neighbourhood of Baltinglass, twenty-nine miles from Dublin, southward, was one of the most considerable of the skirmishes which happened at this time. A body of at least four or five hundred insurgents were on the 24th, at one o'clock, attacked in the town of Stratford-upon-Slaney, near Baltinglass, on one side by a small body of troops composed of thirty of the Antrim militia, under lieutenant Macaulay, and twenty of the ninth dragoons, under cornet Love; and on the other by a party of

yeomen, commanded by captain Stratford. By this double attack they were totally routed, with the slaughter perhaps of near a hundred; while of the loyalists none were killed, but several wounded.

The attack of Prosperous, a small town in the county of Kildare, intended for a seat of cotton manufactures, seventeen miles distant from Dublin, was made an hour after midnight, on the night of the 23d, or morning of the 24th, by a large body of men, supposed to be conducted by John Esmond, a Romish gentleman, first lieutenant of a troop of yeoman cavalry. The small garrison was assailed by surprise. The barrack was fired, and twenty-eight of the city of Cork militia, with their commander, captain Swayne, perished in the flames, and by the pikes of the enemy. Nine men also of a Welch regiment of cavalry, stiled ancient Britons, were slaughtered in the houses where they had been billeted, and five were made prisoners. Many of the perpetrators of this atrocious butchery were, by the trembling loyalist inhabitants, recognized to be the same who on the preceding day had surrendered to captain Swayne, and, in the presence of a Romish priest, had expressed the deepest contrition for having engaged in the conspiracy of United Irish, and made most solemn promises of future loyalty—a melancholy instance of dissimulation, practised elsewhere in

similar circumstances! Here, as in all other places where the insurgents had success, in the early part of the rebellion, while their hopes were high, a tumultuous and frantic exultation took place, with congratulations of Naas and Dublin being in the possession of their associates; the conveyance of such false intelligence, to inspire their followers, being a part of the policy almost constantly practised by the leaders of the revolt. Loud shouts were heard, especially from a multitude of women, who always followed the men on such occasions, of *down with the Orangemen!* and, which marked the object of insurrection at its very commencement in the minds of the common people, *down with the heretics!* They accordingly murdered with deliberate ceremony, and mangled their bodies in a horrid manner, two gentlemen of the names of Stamer and Brewer, and an old man who had been serjeant in the king's army. That a slaughter of the remaining protestant inhabitants would have been perpetrated, is highly probable, if it had not been prevented by the approach of a body of troops, through fear of whom the rebels fled. Richard Griffith, Esq. with part of his troop of yeomen cavalry, and forty of the Armagh militia, who had repulsed the assailants at Claine, pursued them almost to Prosperous, three miles distant, which caused much terror to the rebels in possession of that town.

The attack of Naas, the most considerable of the military stations assailed by the insurgents, at the very commencement of the rebellion, was an hour and a half later than that of Prosperous. In this town, fifteen miles south-westward of Dublin, were posted a part of the Armagh militia, detachments of the fourth regiment of dragoon guards and of the ancient Britons, under the command of lord viscount Gosford, colonel of the Armagh regiment. The surprise of this post was prevented by the vigilance of the garrison. The approach of near a thousand insurgents, under the conduct of a chief named Michael Reynolds, being announced by a dragoon, the troops had time to form according to a preconcerted plan. Repulsed in their first onset at the county gaol, which stands in this town, the rebels possessed themselves of all the avenues, and made a general assault in almost every direction. Unable to make an impression on the troops, they fled on all sides after about forty minutes of irregular firing, and were pursued with slaughter by the cavalry. Of the king's forces, two officers and some privates were slain; of the rebels about thirty were found dead in the streets, and a greater number, perhaps near a hundred, may have been slaughtered in the roads and fields in the pursuit. In the course of the day the inhabitants of Naas beheld such scenes, as were afterwards exhibited elsewhere on a larger scale, and

with much higher colouring; the terrified loyalists of the neighbouring towns and country, men, women, and children, who had abandoned their possessions to the rapacity of the foe, flocking into this place of arms with the troops who retreated from the inferior posts. The little garrison of Claine arrived here in the morning, where lieutenant Esmond, taking his place in Captain Griffith's troop, apparently unconscious of the affair of Prosperous, was arrested. The troops who had fought at Kilcullen arrived not before nine in the evening; the fugitive loyalists who accompanied them were obliged to remain in the street all night, yet they fared much better than many people afterwards in similar situations, as they were supplied with provisions from the military stores while they continued in this town, which was during some time after in a state of alarm.

In the action at Kilcullen, which had taken place at seven in the morning, the inefficacy of cavalry against embattled pikemen was too clearly shewn. A body of about three hundred rebels having taken post at the church of Old Kilcullen, general Dundas without waiting for his infantry, ordered his cavalry, consisting of forty men of the light dragoons and Romneys to charge, and, in this service, three times repeated, they were repulsed with the loss of captains Erskine and Cooks, and twenty privates, beside

ten wounded, most of them mortally. Retiring to Kilcullen bridge, he attacked the enemy, who had followed him thither, with twenty-seven Suffolk infantry in front, who, in three destructive discharges of musketry, discomfited and dispersed the rebels.

In my relation of this affair I by no means intend any censure on the general; nor, if I were not indispensably bound to strict impartiality and truth, would I mention any circumstance, which might be wrested into a sinister sense against one whom I consider as an excellent officer and a worthy man. A mistaken opinion of the force of cavalry against pikemen seems to have been almost universal until experience brought conviction.

War being now openly commenced by the conspirators, government necessarily proceeded to the strongest measure of coercion. The lord lieutenant issued a proclamation on the 24th, giving notice, that orders were conveyed to all his majesty's general officers in Ireland to punish according to martial law, by death or otherwise, as their judgment should approve, all persons acting, or in any manner assisting, in the rebellion. This proclamation was notified the same day to both houses of parliament, by a message from his excellency, who received in consequence addresses of thanks and approbation from both. The effects of this procedure, the necessity of which marked the calamitous condition of the

country, were quickly felt by great numbers of the lower, and some of the higher classes of the people. An instance of its fatality to the latter immediately occurred on the sanguinary repulse of the rebels at Carlow.

Of the intended surprise of this town, forty miles south-westward from Dublin, the garrison was apprised, both by an intercepted letter, and by the intelligence of lieutenant Roe, of the North-Cork militia, who had observed the peasants assembling in the vicinity late in the evening of the 24th of May. The garrison, consisting of a body of the ninth dragoons, the light company of the North-Cork militia, under captain Heard, some of the Louth militia, under lieutenant Ogle, the yeoman infantry of Carlow under captains Burton and Eustace, Sir Charles Burton's yeoman cavalry, and about forty volunteers—the whole about four hundred and fifty in number, under the command of colonel Mahon, of the ninth dragoons, was judiciously distributed at various posts for the reception of the assailants. The plan of assault was ill contrived, or ill executed. Different parties were appointed to enter the town at different avenues; but only one, that which arrived soonest, attempted an entrance, the rest being deterred by the incessant firing of the troops. This body, perhaps amounting to a thousand or fifteen hundred, assembling at the house of Sir Edward Crosbie, a mile and a half

distant from Carlow, marched into the town at two o'clock of the morning of the 25th of May, with so little precaution as to alarm the garrison at a quarter of a mile's distance, by the discharge of a gun, in the execution of a man who scrupled to accompany them in their enterprise. Shouting as they rushed into Tullow street, with that vain confidence, which is commonly followed by disappointment, *that the town was their own*, they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled and endeavoured to retreat; but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, where they found a miserable exit, these being immediately fired by the soldiery. About eight houses were consumed in this conflagration, and for some days the roasted remains of unhappy men were falling down the chimnies in which they had perished. As about half this column of assailants had arrived within the town, and few escaped from that situation, their loss can hardly be estimated at less than four hundred; while not a man was even wounded on the side of the loyalists.

After the defeat, executions commenced, as elsewhere in this calamitous period, and about two hundred in a short time were hanged or shot, according to martial law. Among the earliest victims were Sir Edward Crosbie, and one Heydon, a yeoman of Sir Charles Burton's troop. The latter is believed to have been the

leader of the rebel column; to have conducted the assailants into the town, and on their ill success, to have abandoned them. He had certainly in that crisis taken his place as a yeoman, and joined in the slaughter of the assailants. Sir Edward, at whose house the rebel column had assembled, but who certainly had not accompanied them in their march, was condemned and hanged as an United Irishman. I can say nothing from my own knowledge of this unfortunate baronet, with whom I had never any acquaintance; but his friends have affirmed with truth, that he fell a sacrifice to the confusion which necessarily attends a trial by military law, in the rage of a rebellion; and that his innocence would be manifest if certain circumstances were made public, which they chose to withhold for a time through respect to administration, then dangerously situated. The whole of his guilt could only have consisted in his having given way to a tide of theoretic politics, which many speculative men had not sufficient clearness of judgment to correct, or duplicity to conceal, though they might utterly abhor the consequences of an attempt to reduce these theories to practice by force of arms.

Since the publication of my first edition, a pamphlet has appeared, stiled, "A Narrative of the Apprehension, Trial, and Execution of Sir Edward William Cresbie, Bart; in which the

“Innocence of Sir Edward, and the Iniquity of
“the Proceedings against him are indubitably
“and clearly proved.” This publication records
one atrocious instance, out of a multitude which
occurred, of the abuse of power delegated by the
members of administration to inferior actors in
a time of lamentable distraction. Protestant
loyalists, witnesses in favour of the accused,
were forcibly prevented by the military from en-
tering the court. Roman catholic prisoners
were tortured by repeated floggings, to force
them to give evidence against him; and appear
to have been promised their lives upon no other
condition than that of his conviction. Not-
withstanding all these and other violent mea-
sures, no charge was proved against him; of
which defect of evidence his judges were so sen-
sible, that, in defiance of an act of parliament, a
copy of the proceedings was withheld from his
widow and family. The court was irregularly
constituted and illegal, destitute of a judge
advocate. The execution of the sentence was
precipitate, at an unusual hour, and attended
with atrocious circumstances, not warranted by
the sentence, and reflecting indelible disgrace
on the parties concerned. I refer the reader to
the pamphlet itself. I insert some papers in the
appendix, No. 7.

Sometimes one of those numerous little inci-
dents, which occur in times of civil distraction,

though of no importance in themselves, may assist to give the reader some idea of the state of the country on such occasions. A gentleman named Thomas Elliot, going from Carlow, after the repulse of the rebels, to visit his house, three miles from the town, saw thirty or forty of the peasants, his neighbours, assembled in the road at the end of his avenue, whom he supposed to have met for mutual enquiries about news. He was advancing without apprehension of danger, when observing two guns levelled at him, he wheeled, galloped away, and fortunately escaped both shots. Hearing a shout from them, with a declaration that he might come to them with confidence of safety, he returned, and called to them to meet him without arms. Finding that they declined this proof of pacific intention, he again galloped away and escaped some shots. When he returned soon after with a body of yeomen, the peasants, expecting no mercy, fled to places of concealment; but perceiving that, quite contrary to their expectation, their cabins were not burned, nor any severe punishment intended, they returned to their occupations, and remained perfectly quiet. A contrary conduct in this gentleman would have sent these and others to augment the rebel forces.

The defeats of the rebels at Monasterevan and Hacketstown, in the same morning with that at Carlow, were nearly as bloodless on the side of

the loyalists. The garrison of the former, consisting of eighty-five yeomen, not three weeks embodied, of whom forty-three were cavalry, was assailed by a body of men, perhaps a thousand in number, a little after four o'clock; but such was the spirit and steadiness of this little army, assisted by some volunteers, that the assailants were on every side completely repulsed, though they could not be prevented from setting fire to part of the town. The infantry, under lieutenant George Bagot, had advanced against the main body of the enemy on the bank of the grand canal, where the town is situate; while the cavalry, under Captain Haystead, skirmished with another party in the street. On the return of part of the infantry from the pursuit, a furious attack was made in conjunction with the cavalry, and the rebels were driven from the town with slaughter. Sixty-eight of their dead were said to be collected and buried by the victors; some are supposed to have been carried away by the vanquished, many of whom were doubtless wounded. Of the loyalists, nine were slain, of whom two were of the volunteer class.

The incaution and vain confidence of the insurgents was no where more strongly exemplified than in their attack of Hacketstown, in the county of Carlo, forty-four miles from Dublin. The garrison, which was composed of a detachment of the Antism militia, under

lieutenant Gardiner, and a body of yeomen under captain Hardy, being apprized of the approach of the insurgents, marched out to meet them; but on sight of the enemy, whose number appeared to be above three thousand, the troops retreated, lest they should be surrounded, and took refuge in the barrack. This, as the event soon proved, answered the purpose of a feint. The rebels, from joy of their imagined victory, raised a vehement shout, and rushing forward in the utmost confusion, were on the sudden arrival of captain Hume, with thirty of his yeomen, charged with such address and spirit as to be completely routed, with the loss of perhaps two hundred of their men; while not one of the loyalists was hurt, except a soldier who received a contusion on the arm; and lieutenant Gardiner, who was violently bruised by the stroke of a stone on the breast.

While the rebellion was thus checked in its extension south-westward of the capital, exertions were made, and arrangements to suppress it, on the northern and western sides. In consequence of these arrangements, on the evening of the 26th, a large body of rebels assembled on the hill of Tarah, in the county of Meath, situate eighteen miles northward of Dublin, was completely routed, with the slaughter, we are told, of three hundred and fifty of their men, found dead on the field of battle, together with their

leader in his uniform ; with the loss of nine killed and sixteen wounded of the victorious party, which was composed of three companies of the regiment of Reay fencibles, with a field-piece of artillery, under the command of captain M'Lean ; lord Fingal's troop of yeoman cavalry ; those of captain Preston and Lower-Kells ; and captain Molly's company of yeoman infantry, in all about four hundred. The position of this hill, insulated in a widely surrounding plain, is well adapted for defence against an attacking foe, but ill for escape from victorious cavalry, from whose pursuit they could be protected only by the inclosures of the fields, so that many doubtless were killed or wounded.

As this victory laid open the communication of the metropolis with the northern parts of the kingdom, so other successful movements produced the same effect on the western side. On the 29th, a little after eleven o'clock in the morning, a body of rebels, who had posted themselves in the village of Rathangan, on the grand canal, in the county of Kildare, situate twenty-nine miles westward of Dublin, had committed murders, and had fortified their post with barricadoes and chains across the streets, was dislodged, and about sixty of them slaughtered, by a party under the command of lieutenant-colonel Longfield, of the royal Cork militia, who advanced against the town with his

artillery in the front, his infantry supporting it behind, and his cavalry so placed as to support both. No loss was sustained by the king's troops, as the rebels gave way on the second discharge of the cannon.

Discouraged by defeats, many of the rebels began to wish for leave to retire in safety to their homes, and resume their peaceful occupations. Of this a remarkable instance occurred on the 28th, and another on the 31st of May. Lieutenant General Dundas, who had, in the afternoon of the 24th, defeated a rebel force near Kilcullen, and relieved that little town, received on the 28th, at his quarters at Naas, by Thomas Kelly, Esq. a magistrate, a message from a rebel chief named Perkins, who was then at the head of about two thousand men, posted on an eminence called Knockawlin-hill, on the border of the Curragh of Kildare, a beautiful plain, used as a race-course, twenty-two miles south-westward of the metropolis. The purport of this message was, that Perkins' men should surrender their arms, on condition of their being permitted to retire unmolested to their habitations, and of the liberation of Perkins' brother from the jail of Naas. The general, having sent a messenger for advice to Dublin Castle, and received permission, assented to the terms, and, approaching the post of Knockawlin on the 31st, received the personal surrendry of Per-

kins, and a few of his associates; the rest dispersing homewards in all directions with shouts of joy, and leaving thirteen cart-loads of pikes behind.

This disposition to surrender, which good policy would have encouraged among the insurgents, was blasted three days after by military ardour, which, when it eludes the salutary restraints of discipline, and is exerted against an unresisting object, ceases to be laudable. Major-General Sir James Duff, who had made a rapid march from Limerick with six hundred men, to open the communication of the metropolis with that quarter, received intelligence of a large body of men assembled at a place called Gibbit-rath, on the Curragh, for the purpose of surrendering, to which they had been admitted by general Dundas. Unfortunately, as the troops advanced near the insurgents to receive their surrendered weapons, one of the latter foolishly swearing that he would not deliver his gun otherwise than empty, discharged it with the muzzle upwards. The soldiers instantly, pretending to consider this as an act of hostility, fired on the unresisting multitude, who fled with the utmost precipitation, and were pursued with slaughter by a company of fencible cavalry, denominated lord Jocelyn's fox-hunters. Above two hundred of the insurgents fell upon this occasion, and a far greater number would have shared their fate,

* The following address from the corps of Athy loyal infantry is very honourable to that body, as well as to the general.

“ Sir, the arrangements, which follow the termination of a
“ glorious war, being likely to deprive us of the man, whose
“ wise and humane conduct saved the lives of thousands, we
“ cannot suffer the opportunity to pass, without expressing to
“ our brave general the sentiments of gratitude with which
“ our hearts are filled.

“ Your kind partiality and attention to the Athy. yeoman
“ infantry, raised on the spur of the moment, have induced
“ them to offer this (the only tribute in their power) to their
“ revered general. Wherever you go, you will carry with
“ you their invariable attachment, and the applauses of all
“ true lovers of their country and of *humanity*.

Athy,
1st January, 1802.

THO. I. RAWSON, Captain.

See Dublin evening post, No. 6781, in which is also an address from the principal inhabitants of the district to the same general, with the presentation of a piece of plate.

In the public prints this body of insurgents is asserted to have assembled for the purpose of battle, and to have actually fired on the troops but the truth ought to be related without respect of persons or party. The affair is well known to have been otherwise; and the rebels were crowded in a place neither fit for defence nor escape—a wide plain without hedge, ditch, or bog, quite contrary to their constantly practised modes of warfare.

This eagerness of the soldiery for the slaughter of unresisting rebels, was often fatal to loyalists; for frequently some of the latter were prisoners with the former, and being found among them by the troops, were not always distinguished from them. A remarkable instance, in the march of this army, was on the point of having place in the melancholy catalogue which might be authentically formed. A protestant clergyman of an amiable character, Mr. Williamson of Kildare, who had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and been saved from slaughter by the humanity of a Roman catholic priest, was, as having been spared by the rebels, deemed a rebel by the soldiery, who were proceeding instantly to hang him, when they were in a critical moment prevented by the interference of his brother-in-law, colonel Sankey.

While, by the above-mentioned operations, the communication was in great measure laid open,

between the several parts of the kingdom and the capital, which had for some days actually sustained a species of blockade, an insurrection had burst out in a part where it was least expected; and was growing into so formidable a force, as to occasion the most serious alarms for the safety of government. The county of Wexford had been but very recently and but partially organized, and many of its Romanist inhabitants had addressed the lord lieutenant through the medium of the Earl of Mountnorris, protesting their loyalty, and pledging themselves to arm, if permitted, in defence of government, whenever there should be occasion. Not above six hundred men, at most, of the regular army or militia, were stationed in the county, the defence of which was almost abandoned to the troops of yeomen and their supplementaries, while the magistrates in the several districts were employed in ordering the seizure, imprisonment, and whipping of numbers of suspected persons.* These yeomen, being protestants, prejudiced against the Romanists by traditionary and other accounts of the former cruelties of that sect in Ireland, fearing such cruelties in case of insurrection, and confirmed

* I am well informed that no floggings had place in the town of Wexford, nor in the baronies of Forth and Bargo; and that in those baronies no atrocities were committed before or since the rebellion.

in this fear by papers found in the pockets of some prisoners, containing some of the old sanguinary doctrines of the Romish church, which authorized the extermination of heretics, acted with a spirit ill fitted to allay religious hatred, or to prevent a proneness to rebel.

How far the assurances, conveyed through Earl Mountnorris, of the loyalty, or peaceable intentions, of the Romanists inhabiting the county of Wexford, was the cause of that fatal security in government, fatal to the lives and properties of thousands, on account of which this county was left in so defenseless a condition, I am not authorized to pronounce. Doubtless, to excite so violent an irritation by floggings, imprisonments, and a variety of insults, without sufficient means to enforce obedience, appears to have been an unfortunate mistake, as was that of the institution of yeoman cavalry instead of infantry. I have not the least doubt that of the latter a force might have been raised within the county of Wexford sufficient to crush the rebellion in its commencement in this part of Ireland.

Whether an insurrection would in the then existing state of the kingdom have taken place in the county of Wexford, or, in case of its eruption, how much less formidable and sanguinary it would have been if no acts of severity had been committed by the soldiery, the yeomen, or

their supplementary associates, without the direct authority of their superiors, or command of the magistrates, is a question which I am not able positively to answer.* In the neighbourhood of Gorey, if I am not mistaken, the terror of the whippings was in particular, so great, that the people would have been extremely glad to renounce for ever all notions of opposition to government, if they could have been assured of

* Perhaps the true state of the case is this :—The people were so determined on insurrection, that it could not otherwise have been prevented than by a proper disposition of a large military force. The sending of such a force was prevented by the representations of Earl Mountnorris, and therefore the insurrection took place. In my opinion, the force which was sent, ill commanded, and, with some exceptions, ill officered, promoted the work of rebellion by previous irritation and posterior timidity.

Some magistrates of the county of Wexford affirm that not more than one man was flogged in all the county before the insurrection. I wish these gentlemen would publish their affirmation or negation in print. They must admit that several were flogged in the town of Gorey alone. Of these I knew three : Anthony Bolger, Michael Davis, and one Howlet ; and they must admit that at least one flagellation, if not more, was exacted in the town of little Limerick, near Gorey. I have not at present sufficient ground to suspect that any of these were flogged without proper cause ; but half-hangings enough were committed by others without any consultation of magistrates. The floggings, however, in the county of Wexford, were almost nothing comparatively with other counties ; and the terror of people of this county arose chiefly from floggings inflicted elsewhere ; and the incipency of floggings among themselves, house-burnings, &c.

permission to remain in a state of quietness. As an instance of this terror, I shall relate the following fact. On the morning of the 23d of May, a labouring man, named Dennis M'Daniel, came to my house, with looks of the utmost consternation and dismay, and confessed to me that he had taken the United Irishman's oath, and had paid for a pike with which he had not yet been furnished, nineteen-pence-halfpenny, to one Kilty, a smith, who had administered the oath to him and many others. While I sent my eldest son, who was a lieutenant of yeomanry, to arrest Kilty, I exhorted M'Daniel to surrender himself to a magistrate and make his confession; but this he positively refused, saying that he should in that case be lashed to make him produce a pike which he had not, and to confess what he knew not. I then advised him, as the only alternative, to remain quietly at home, promising that if he should be arrested on the information of others, I would represent his case to the magistrates. He took my advice, but the fear of arrest and lashing, had so taken possession of his thoughts, that he could neither eat nor sleep, and on the morning of the 25th, he fell on his face and expired in a little grove near my house.

Whatever might have been the state of affairs with different management, the standard of rebellion, after an apparently passive submission,

was at last hoisted between Gorey and Wexford, on the night of the 26th of May, by John Murphy, Romish priest of Boulavogue, commonly known by the denomination of Father John, as in the south of Ireland the title of *father* is commonly prefixed to the name of each priest. This man, who was coadjutor, or assistant curate, of the parish priest, was a man of shallow intellect, a fanatic in religion, and, from the latter circumstance, too well qualified to inflame the superstitious minds of the ignorant multitude. In an attempt to disperse a body of the insurgents, at the head of a part of his troop, Thomas Bookey, a brave young man, first lieutenant of the Camolin cavalry, was killed, as he incautiously advanced before his men to harangue the rebels; and his house, about seven miles from Gorey, was burned. From this commencement of hostility, the commotion spread rapidly on all sides; and the collection of rebel parties was greatly promoted by the reports disseminated of numbers of people shot in the roads, at work in the fields, and even in their houses, unarmed and unoffending, by straggling parties of yeomen. Influenced by these reports, which certainly were not without too much foundation, great numbers took refuge with their friends in arms, insomuch that, on the following morning of Whit-Sunday, the 27th of May, two large bodies were collected, one on the hill of Oulart, nearly

midway between Gorey and Wexford, about eleven miles to the south of the former; the other on Kiltomas hill, an inferior ridge of Slyeeve-Bwee mountain, about nine miles westward of Gorey. Each, especially that of Oulart, where the number of combatants was less than at Kiltomas, was a confused multitude of both sexes and all ages.

Against the latter body of insurgents, consisting of two or three thousand men in arms, marched a body of yeomen, on the same morning, between two and three hundred in number, infantry and cavalry, from the neighbouring town of Carnew, in the county of Wicklow. The infantry of this little army, or corps of Shillela yeomen, flanked at a considerable distance on the left by the cavalry, advanced intrepidly up the hill against the rebels, who were posted on the summit. The latter, if they had been sensible of their advantage, and known how to improve it, might, as has appeared by subsequent events, have surrounded and destroyed this little body of brave men; but they were struck with a panic, and fled, after a few discharges of musketry from the yeomen, at too great a distance to make any considerable execution. About a hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed in the pursuit, and the yeomen, exasperated by the death of lieutenant Bookey, and other violent acts, burned two Romish chapels, and about a

hundred cabins and farm-houses of Romanists, in the course of seven miles march.

The event of battle was very different, on the same day, on the hill of Oulart, where Father John commanded. A detachment of a hundred and ten chosen men of the North-Cork militia, under the command of lieutenant colonel Foote, marched from Wexford, and attacked the rebels on the southern side of the hill. Such contempt of an enemy, as creates incaution, has often proved fatal. The rebels fled at the first onset, and were pursued at full speed by the militia, who were so little apprehensive of resistance, that no rank or order was observed. While the rebels were making their escape with precipitation toward the northern side of the hill, they were admonished that a large body of cavalry had been seen that morning advancing against them in the opposite direction, apparently with design to intercept their flight, or co-operate with the militia in a double attack. As the Wexfordian insurgents as yet were totally unacquainted with warfare, the onset of cavalry was in the imaginations of many among them more terrible than that of infantry. They therefore ignorantly supposing the cavalry to be still in their neighbourhood, while Father John exclaimed that they must either conquer or perish, turned against the militia, who were now arrived near the summit, almost breathless; and charg-

ing them with their pikes, killed almost in an instant all of the detachment, except the lieutenant colonel, a serjeant and three privates. If we may believe the accounts of some of the insurgents engaged in this butchery, no more than about three hundred of their number ventured to make this furious attack, of whom only six were armed with firelocks, the rest carrying pikes, with which they made so sudden and close an assault that only three of them were killed, and six wounded, by the disordered soldiery. The body of cavalry, who terrified the rebels into this feat of courage against the militia, consisted of two troops under captain Hawtrey White. These had marched from Gorey very early that morning, with design to attack the insurgents; but after a march of twelve or thirteen miles, the number and position of the enemy were imagined to be such as to render a retreat necessary; and after the killing of some few unarmed stragglers, and some old men who had remained in their houses, they returned to Gorey quite ignorant of the intended march of troops from Wexford, on the opposite side, and unapprehensive of the unhappy fate which awaited that detachment.

While the country exhibited a scene of distress and consternation—houses in flames, and families flying on all sides for asylum: the loyalists to the towns, others to the hills, the body of rebels,

under Father John, marched from Oulart, flushed with victory, and perpetually augmented on its way by new accessions. They first took possession of Camolin, a small town six miles westward of Gorey, the loyal inhabitants of which had taken refuge in the latter; and thence advanced to Ferns two miles further, whence the loyalists had fled, six miles southward to Enniscorthy, whither they were followed by the rebels. The number of the latter, on their arrival at Enniscorthy, which they attacked at one o'clock in the afternoon, amounted to about seven thousand, of whom about eight hundred were armed with guns.* The town, situate on both sides of the river Slaney, was garrisoned by about two hundred and ninety men, consisting of militia, yeoman infantry and cavalry, beside some volunteers. At the western side of the town, called the Duffry-gate, whither the yeoman infantry had marched to meet them, the rebels, driving before them a number of horses and other cattle to disorder the ranks of their opponents, a stratagem which had been practised by other bodies of insurgents at Tara-hill and elsewhere,† and rais-

* A large quantity of fire arms had been sent at such a time to Camolin, and left in such a manner, as to answer the same purpose to the rebels as if they had been sent designedly for their use; the intention doubtless was quite otherwise, as it was done by the management of Earl Mountnorris.

† This rude stratagem, of driving cattle against the ranks of an enemy, we find successfully put in practice against the old

ing loud and horrible shouts, according to their universal custom on such occasions, made an irregular but furious onset. As the North-Cork militia, whose commander, with a conduct not easily comprehensible by unmilitary men, had not without the utmost difficulty, and most earnest entreaties, been persuaded to lead his men from the bridge, and to form a left wing to the defending army, retreated to their former station, the brave yeomen, who composed the right wing, finding themselves totally unsupported, and unable to withstand alone the multitude of assailants, retreated after a few discharges of musketry to the market-house, where they made a stand. A disorderly fight was maintained in the town, which, to render it untenable, was fired in many parts by the disaffected part of the inhabitants, some of whom also aimed shots from the windows at the garrison. The assailants in a short time extending themselves around, and making dispositions to ford the river in several places, were galled from the bridge, which was now become the station of defence, by the fire of the militia, who doubtless, if their force had been properly directed from the beginning of the attack, in conjunction with

Irish inhabitants of the county of Waterford, by Raymond le Gross, who landed near Waterford in the year 1171, with eighty men, the advanced guard of Earl Strongbow's army. Leland's Hist. of Ireland, B. i. chap. 2.

the yeomen, would have either entirely repulsed the rebels, or committed such havoc among them as greatly to check their ardour for the prosecution of their schemes. Notwithstanding the little assistance, except at the bridge, received from the militia by the yeomen and volunteers, so fluctuating for some time was the success of the day, that many persons, to avoid the fury of each prevailing party in turn, alternately hoisted the orange and the green ribbon. At length, when the rebels, wading across the river, which was then low, both above and below the bridge, up to the middle in water, some to the neck, had entered the eastern part, called Templeshannon, and set some houses on fire, the garrison, after a gallant defence of above three hours, in which the Enniscorthy infantry, commanded by captain Joshua Pouden, fired above forty rounds each man, abandoned the town, and retreated in great disorder to Wexford. The loss of the garrison, including volunteers, amounted to near ninety, among whom was John Pouden, of Daphne, Esq; a gentleman universally beloved; that of the rebels, who certainly suffered a very galling fire, was said to be five hundred; but I am inclined to think that half that number would be nearer the truth.* Before the yeomanry quitted

* Edward Roche, one of the chief leaders of the rebels in their march to Enniscorthy, is said to have declared in the time of his imprisonment, that fourteen hundred chosen men, most or all

the town they had expended their ammunition, though they had repeatedly filled their pouches from the militia magazine.

I have given this account from a comparison of different statements made by men who had been on the scene of action ; but captain Snowe, who commanded on this occasion, has published a pamphlet in his own vindication, which appears to me to be candid and satisfactory. Expecting to be attacked by two columns of rebels at once, one on each side of the river, which would have been the case if they had been skilfully conducted, he took post on the bridge, the only station whence he could hope to defend the whole. Finding that they had advanced in one column only, he marched with his whole force to support the yeomen at the Duffry-gate ; but when he was proceeding to put his men in order of battle, he was advised by captain Richards of the yeoman cavalry to file to the left, to oppose a body of rebels, who were taking a circuit to enter the town at the rear of the army, by what is called the Daphne road. Observing that this body, instead of facing his men, took a wider

furnished with fire-arms, composed the front of the rebel column, and that of these not less than six hundred were slain. Who will vouch for the existence of this declaration, and for the accuracy of knowledge, the veracity, and the sanity of Roche, who, if I am rightly informed, was deranged when a prisoner ?

circuit to cross the river, and to seize the now unguarded part on the opposite side, he was obliged to retreat with all possible haste to his former post, where he arrived soon enough to make a great slaughter, and to frustrate their intention at that time. I am informed that captain Snowe was deserted by his two subaltern officers on this trying occasion. I believe his situation to have been such as might have puzzled the brain of even a Buonaparte, and that his conduct has been too severely criticised by his fellow combatants in this business.

Most of the loyal inhabitants of Enniscorthy, and a multitude of others, who had come thither for protection, fled through the flames toward Wexford; and providentially the direction and weakness of the wind favoured their escape, for they could not have otherwise passed through the burning streets. The terror, consternation, and distress, of these fugitives, is not to be described, flying for their lives in a confused multitude, without distinction of rank, sex, or age, almost all on foot, and leaving all their effects in the hands of their enemies. The state of their minds may be somewhat conceived from the following circumstance, that women, habituated to all the indulgence which an affluent fortune affords, not only fled on foot, but also in that situation carried their infants on their backs to

Wexford,* the distance of which from Enniscorthy is eleven Irish, or fourteen English miles. Some ladies, however, were utterly unable to perform this march, and must have been abandoned to their fate if they had not found some means of conveyance. For instance, Mrs. Hancock, wife to a very respectable clergyman, fell, in her attempt to escape through the streets, on a heap of burning matter, from which horrible situation she was with difficulty raised by her husband, assisted by a soldier, named John Mac-Donough, and could proceed no farther until she was accommodated with a horse by the humanity of a yeoman. In the deplorable condition of these fugitives, two circumstances were favourable: the weather was remarkable fine, and they were not pursued. Without the latter circumstance most of them must have been destroyed or captured. Some, who found not the opportunity of escape, were butchered in the streets, or imprisoned and reserved for future butchery by the rebels.

The miserable fugitives from Enniscorthy found their situation far from safe in Wexford. This town had been in a state of alarm since the

* Mrs. Pouden, wife of captain Pouden, waded twice through the river Slaney, under the fire of both parties, and escaped, with one child, unhurt. She was obliged to leave six children behind her in the burning town.

first news of the insurrection, but particularly after the slaughter of the North-Cork militia at Oulart on the 27th. The defence of this post, instead of a field-battle with the rebels, was now the object of the garrison. Among the modes of preparation for defence, adopted on this occasion, the fires were ordered to be extinguished, and the roofs of the thatched houses to be stripped, lest the disaffected inhabitants should fire the town, to favour the assailants, as those of Enniscorthy had done.

To disperse the insurgents, if possible, without battle or concession, or perhaps to divert their attention and retard their progress, an expedient was assayed by captain Boyd, of the Wexford cavalry. This officer had, in consequence of a resolution to that purpose of the sheriff and other gentlemen, on the 26th and 27th, from information or suspicion of treasonable designs, arrested Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, of Bargycastle, John Henry Colclough, of Ballyteig; and Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark—all three gentlemen of the county of Wexford. Visiting them in prison on the 29th, captain Boyd agreed with these gentlemen that one of them should go to the rebels at Enniscorthy, and endeavour to persuade them to disperse and return to their homes; but would not give authority to promise any terms to the insurgents in case of submission. Colclough, at the request

of Harvey, stipulated to go on condition of being permitted to bring Fitzgerald with him. On the arrival of these two gentlemen at Enniscorthy, about four in the afternoon of the same day, they found the rebels in a state of confusion, distracted in their councils, and undetermined in any plan of operations—some proposing to attack Newtownbarry, others Ross, others Wexford, others to remain in their present post, the greatest number to march home for the defence of their houses against orangemen. But when shouts, repeated from group to group, announced the arrival of the *gentlemen prisoners*, as they were called, from Wexford, the straggling multitude soon collected into one body. The rebel gentlemen's message being delivered without effect, Colclough, a man of honour, retired with intention of re-entering his prison, according to his promise; but Fitzgerald remained with the rebels, and marched with them that evening to a post called the Three-rocks, two miles and a half from Wexford, which town they had, immediately after the arrival of the messengers, determined to attack. Three-rocks, which the rebels now chose for their military station, and where they remained until the following day, is the termination of a long, but not high ridge, called the Mountain of Forth, separating the baronies of Bargy and Forth from the rest of the county.

Early in the morning of the 29th, colonel Maxwell, of the Donegal militia, with two hundred men of his regiment and a six-pounder, accompanied by colonel Colville, captain Young, and lieutenant Sodon of the thirteenth regiment, who volunteered on the occasion, arrived in Wexford from Duncannon-fort, dispatched by general Fawcet, who had been apprized of the insurrection on the 27th, by captain Knox, an officer sent to escort serjeant Stanley, a judge of assize, on his way to Munster. This reinforcement not being sufficient, a gentleman, named Joshua Sutton, carried a letter from the mayor of Wexford to the general, requesting an additional force; and returned with an exhilarating answer, that the general himself would commence his march for Wexford the same evening, from Duncannon, with the thirteenth regiment, four companies of the Meath militia, and a party of artillery with two howitzers. On the receipt of this intelligence, colonel Maxwell, leaving the five passes into the town guarded by the yeomen and North-Cork militia, took post with his men on the Windmill-hill above the town, at day break on the following morning, the 30th,* with resolution to

* At this time, the great and beautiful wooden bridge of Wexford was, for purposes as yet unknown, set on fire by some rebels. Some imagine the end proposed to be, the prevention of succours from the opposite side of the river.

march against the enemy on the arrival of general Fawcet's army.

The general had marched according to his promise, on the evening of the 29th; but unfortunately halting at Taghmon, seven miles from Wexford, he had sent forward a detachment of eighty-eight men, including eighteen of the artillery, with the howitzers, under the command of captain Adams, of the Meath militia. This detachment was intercepted early in the morning of the 30th, under three rocks, by the rebel army, the howitzers taken, and almost the whole party slain. The general is said to have been in bed when he received the news of this disaster, and falling back precipitately with his army to Duncannon, to have sent his family to England—detaining the packet-boat two hours for that purpose.

Informed of the destruction of captain Adam's detachment by lieutenant Fairclough, of the Meath militia, and lieutenant Birch of the artillery, who had escaped the slaughter, and were brought to Windmill-hill by the patrol guards, colonel Maxwell advanced immediately with what forces he could collect towards the enemy, with design to retake the howitzers, and to co-operate with general Fawcet, of whose retreat he had no suspicion. When he arrived within cannon-shot of the rebels, he found that the howitzers had been drawn to the top of the ridge,

and that shells were thrown at his army with a precision which evinced the operation of some skilful managers. After some discharges of his six-pounder in return, the colonel observing his left flank exposed by the retreat of some of the Taghmon cavalry, the enemy making a motion to surround him, and no appearance of general Fawcet, retired in good order to Wexford, with the loss of lieutenant-colonel Watson killed, and two privates wounded.

The situation of Wexford, commanded by hills, rendered it indefensible against artillery, by a garrison of only six hundred men, when the increasing number of the rebels at Three-rocks amounted to fifteen thousand, beside a strong force left at Enniscorthy. A number of disaffected yeomen deserted to the enemy; many concealed rebels were with good reason suspected to be awaiting within the town an opportunity of co-operating with their associates without; and, to complete the distrust and depression of spirits of the rest of the garrison, the North-Cork militia, who had been stationed near the barrack, quitted their post about half after ten o'clock, directing their march to Duncannon; and were followed immediately, and soon overtaken, by Captain Cornock with his yeoman infantry, who retreated in like manner.*—These considerations

* In excuse of captain Cornock who is generally admitted to have behaved well in the defence of Enniscorthy, his friends

obliged colonel Maxwell to evacuate Wexford; and two deputies, counsellor Richards, and his brother, an apothecary, being sent to notify the evacuation to the rebels, to prevent them from acting as if the town had been taken by storm, the army retreated to the fort of Duncannon, twenty three miles distant, accompanied by such of the loyal inhabitants and refugees from other places as were apprized of the intended evacuation, and were willing and able to perform the march; but, as the troops may be said to have stolen away from the town, great numbers were left in the power of the rebels, merely by their ignorance of an intended retreat.

allege that, seeing the retreat of the North-Cork militia, he thought it a retreat of the whole garrison, and that he was confirmed in that mistake by the erroneous information of a Mr. Jones. But captain Snowe seems to intimate, that the retreat was begun at least as soon by captain Cornock's men as by his. His words are these: (p. 16.) "I was preparing to march my men back to the barack, when the *Scarawalsh* yeomanry, with their officers, and part of the *North-Cork*, from the barrack, with an officer and 'serjeant major, advanced to the barrier; the men of the North-Cork at the barrier immediately joined them, and in spite of my utmost endeavours, marched out along with them; some even scaled the breast-work. Here I thought it my duty not to abandon such a number of men. I therefore took charge of them, and succeeded in keeping them together on the retreat, and preventing every species of depredation and violence, not a single instance of which occurred, except the taking of some horses from the adjacent fields, to mount some of the fainting and worn-out soldiers."

I am sorry to have to add, that the troops in their progress, on this occasion, through the baronies of Forth and Bargo, are said to have proceeded in such disorder, that in case of pursuit, which was very strenuously advised by one of the chiefs, they might have been destroyed by the rebel army; while by the devastations committed in their way, by the burning of cabins, and shooting of peasants,* they augmented the number and rage of the insurgents—who took possession of Wexford without opposition. A great number of loyalists in the town, who had not escaped with the retreating army, endeavoured to crowd on board the vessels in the harbour, to take refuge in Britain; but of these only a few effected their purpose, for most of the vessels being manned by Romanists, when the town was observed to be in possession of the rebels, returned to the quays from the mouth of the harbour, and relanded their people.

While the southern parts of the county of Wexford were in this horrible state of commotion, the northern, about Gorey, were also frightfully agitated. The retreat, already mentioned, of the yeoman cavalry from Oulart, early on the morn-

* I am informed by a respectable gentleman of Wexford, that the yeomen of the retreating army ought to be exempt from this censure; that they behaved to the satisfaction of colonel Colville, who commanded the retreat, and were by him placed in the front.

ing of the 27th of May, to Gorey, was followed by great numbers of people hastening to the town for protection, and carrying what they could of their effects with them ; many, however, through terror and precipitation, leaving all behind. As Gorey, consisting only of one street with a number of lanes, was garrisoned by no more than thirty of the North-Cork militia, under lieutenant Swayne, and a number of yeomen, assisted by an undisciplined crowd, some of whom were armed only with pikes, to abandon the town, and retreat to Arklow, nine miles to the north, in the county of Wicklow, was at first resolved ; but afterwards to defend the town was determined, carts and waggons being drawn by way of ramparts across the avenues and the street—the undisciplined men placed at the windows to fire on the approaching enemy, and the disciplined arranged about the centre of the town. In the evening arrived a reinforcement of the Antrim militia, under lieutenant Elliot, an experienced and excellent officer ; but as accounts of devastations and murders, received in the course of the day, seemed to indicate the approach of an army of rebels, the apprehensions of whom were rendered far more terrible by the news of the North-Cork militia slaughtered at Oulart, orders were issued to abandon the town, and retire to Arklow at five o'clock on the following morning, the 28th of May.

The Earl of Courtown, who had resolved to defend Gorey, if possible, and who, for want of an adequate force, was obliged to abandon it, had embodied a troop of yeoman cavalry in October, of the year 1796, and had added to it a body of infantry and a considerable number of supplementary men. In other parts of the country, where troops of this kind had been embodied, subscriptions had been raised, and a stock-purse formed, for the defraying of a variety of extraordinary expences; but not a farthing was contributed by the gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Gorey to assist the earl, on whom was thrown the whole expence, and who exerted himself with an uncommon assiduity and activity. As he had performed much in the providing of a force to obviate or suppress rebellion, so his treatment of the common people, by his affable manners, had been always such as was best adapted to produce content in the lower classes, and prevent a proneness to insurrection. I consider myself as bound in strictness of justice to society, thus far to represent the conduct of this nobleman. Doubtless, the people in the neighbourhood of Gorey were the last and least violent of all in the county of Wexford, in rising against the established authority; and certainly the behaviour of the Stopford family in that neighbourhood, toward their inferiors, had always been remarkably conciliating and humane.

As the order to retreat was very sudden, on account of the imagined rapid approach of a resistless and ferocious enemy, a melancholy scene of trepidation, confusion, and flight was the consequence; the affrighted crowd of people running in all directions for their horses, harnessing their cars and placing their families on them with precipitation, and escaping speedily as possible from the town. The road was soon filled to a great extent with a train of cars loaded with women and children, accompanied by a multitude on foot, many of whom were women with infants on their backs. The weather being hot and dry, the cloud of dust raised by the fugitive multitude, of whom I with my family was a part, rendered respiration difficult. The reception which we found at Arklow was not well suited to our calamitous condition. Almost fainting with hunger, thirst, fatigue, and want of sleep, we were denied admittance into the town, by orders of the commanding officer of the garrison, captain Rowan of the Antrim regiment; and great part of the poorer fugitives retiring, took refuge that day and night under the neighbouring hedges; but the better sort after a little delay, were admitted, on condition of quitting the town in half an hour. The loyalists, on permission to enter Arklow, were obliged to deliver their arms at the gate of the barrack to the guard, who promised to restore

them; but, instead of this, they were afterwards formed into a pile in the yard of the barrack and burned. A man named Taylor, clerk of Camolin church, who made some scruple to surrender his arms was shot by the guard. After our admission, our situation was not so comfortable as we might have expected, for no refreshment could be procured by money for men or horses, and the hearts of the inhabitants in general seemed quite hardened against us. But, for my own part, I found very humane treatment. After remaining some time in the street, my family were courteously invited by a lady, to whom we were totally unknown, a Mrs. Hunte, into her house, where we were kindly refreshed with food and drink; and a gentleman, Mr. Joseph Alford, to whom we were equally unknown, coming accidentally where we were, insisted on our going to his house, three miles from Arklow, where we found a number of refugees, all of whom were treated with the most humane attention.

Gorey, meantime, was in a singular predicament—abandoned by the loyalists, while the rest of the inhabitants in fear and dubious anxiety remained closely shut within their houses, inso-much that all was in silence and solitude, except that an unprincipled female, frantic with joy at the flight of her imagined enemies, capered in an extraordinary manner in the street; and that a pack of hounds belonging to one of the fugitive

gentry, expressed their feelings on the occasion by a hideous and mournful yell; and that six men who had been that morning, though unarmed, taken prisoners, shot through the body and left for dead in the street, were writhing with pain—one of whom in particular, was lying against a wall, and, though unable to speak, threatened with his fist a protestant who had run back into the town for something which he had forgotten. The yeomen returned in a few hours to Gorey, but immediately retreated again to Arklow; and one of them, in riding through the former, met with a dangerous accident;—a quantity of gunpowder had been spilled on the pavement by the militia in their hasty retreat, which, by a spark struck by one of the horses shoes, blew up, and singed both horse and man in a frightful manner, without, however, any fatal effects. As the rebels had bent their march toward the southern parts, Gorey remained unmolested, though destitute of defence. Filled as it was with a variety of goods, great part of which had been carried thither for safety from the neighbouring parts, it presented a tempting object of depredation; but the pilfering of the lower class of the towns people was prevented by the better sort of Romanist inhabitants, who formed themselves into guards to protect the houses of their protestant neighbours; and when a multitude of women had assembled at some distance to come

and plunder the town, they dispersed in a fright on the receipt of false news that the Ancient-British Regiment of cavalry was approaching. At length John Hunter Gowan, Esq. a magistrate who had in a most meritorious and successful manner exerted himself many years in the apprehending and prosecuting of robbers, and had been partly rewarded for his services by a pension from government of 100*l.* a year, collected a body of men to garrison the town. On the 30th and 31st of May, the greater part of the fugitives returned from Arklow to their homes, and the militia and yeomanry, who had abandoned Gorey on the 28th, resumed their station in it.

In the mean time the insurgents having possession of all the southern parts of the county of Wexford, except Ross and Duncannon, on the western border, began to turn their attention toward the north; and on the morning of the 1st of June, the beautiful little town of Bunclody, otherwise termed Newtownbarry, situate ten miles north-westward of Enniscorthy, was attacked by a great body of rebels, detached from their post of Vinegar-hill, an eminence at the foot of which the town of Enniscorthy is built. The garrison, including yeomen and volunteers, consisted of about five hundred men, of whom about three hundred were militia, under Colonel Lestrangle, of the King's county regiment. The

rebel force, amounting perhaps to five thousand in number, conducted by several chiefs, among whom was Father Kern, a man of extraordinary stature, strength, and ferocity, advanced to the attack on both sides of the river Slaney, on the western bank of which the town is built, and commenced a fire from a brass six-pounder, a howitzer, and some swivel guns. The colonel, according to the too-commonly practised mode of the king's officers, ordered the troops to abandon the town, contrary to the earnest remonstrances of the yeomen officers and volunteers; but after a retreat of about a mile, he yielded to the solicitations of lieutenant-colonel Westenra, and suffered the troops to be led back to the succour of a few determined loyalists, who had remained in the town, and continued a fire on the enemy from some houses. This accidental manœuvre had all the advantages of a preconcerted stratagem. The rebels, who had rushed into the street in a confused multitude, intent on plunder and devastation, and totally unapprehensive of the return of the troops, were unprepared to withstand the onset of the soldiery, preceded by the fire of two pieces of cannon. With the loss of only two men on the side of the loyalists, that of the rebels may have amounted to near two hundred. This victory was of no small importance, as their conquest of Bunclody would have opened a way for the Wexfordian

rebels into the county of Carlow, the rising of whose inhabitants to co-operate with those of Wicklow and Kildare, already in arms, must in the state of the country, as it was then circumstanced, have given great embarrassment to administration.

On advice received by the garrison of Bunclody of the attack intended by the rebels, an express had been sent to Clonnegall, two miles and a half distant, ordering the troops posted there to march immediately to Bunclody. The commander of these troops, lieutenant Young of the Donegal militia, instead of marching immediately, spent two hours in the hanging of four prisoners, in spite of the most earnest remonstrances of the gentlemen of the town, and an officer of the North-Cork, who considered these men as not deserving death, some at least of whom had actually declined to join the rebels when it was fully in their power. By this delay, and an unaccountably circuitous march, three miles longer than the direct road, the troops arrived not at Bunclody till after the action was entirely over, yet the North-Cork officer pursued with such alacrity, that with the assistance of some yeoman cavalry, he took two car-loads of ammunition from the rebels. Mr. Young, on his arrival in Clonnegall, had commanded the inhabitants to furnish every individual of his soldiers with a feather-bed, and had, without the

least necessity, turned Mr. Derinzey, a brave and loyal gentleman and his children, out of their beds; and when any remonstrance was made to him by another officer for the incessant depredations of his men, his answer was, 'I am the commanding officer, and damn the croppies.' After his march to Newtownbarry, Mr. Young returned not again to Clonnegall, and that town remained under the command of the North-Cork officer above-mentioned, lieutenant Holmes Justice, who maintained a laudable discipline, and held his very dangerous post with such intrepidity, that, though it lies in the neighbourhood of Carnew, it never fell into the hands of the rebels.

Hills of a commanding prospect were always chosen by the rebels for their stations or posts. These posts they termed camps, though they were destitute of tents, except a few for their chiefs, and the people remained in the open air in vast multitudes, men and women promiscuously, some lying covered with blankets at night, and some without other covering than the clothes which they wore in the day. This mode of warfare was favoured by an uninterrupted continuance of dry and warm weather, to such a length of time as is very unusual in Ireland in that season, or any season of the year. This was regarded by the rebels as a particular interposition of Providence in their favour; and some among

them are said to have declared, in a prophetic tone, that not a drop of rain was to fall until they should be masters of all Ireland. On the other hand, the same was considered by the fugitive loyalists as a merciful favour of heaven, since bad weather must have miserably augmented their distress, and have caused many to perish. In these encampments or stations, among such crowds of riotous undisciplined men, under no regular authority, the greatest disorder must be supposed to have prevailed. Often when a rebel was in a sound sleep in the night, he was robbed by some associate of his gun, or some other article at that time valuable; to sleep flat on the belly, with the hat and shoes tied under the breast, for the prevention of stealth, was a custom with many. They were in nothing more irregular than in the cooking of provisions, many of them cutting pieces at random out of cattle scarcely dead, without waiting to flay them, and roasting those pieces on the points of their pikes, together with the parts of the hide which belonged to them. The heads of cattle were seldom eaten, but generally left to rot on the surface of the ground; and so were often large parts of the carcasses, after many pieces had been cut from them, which practice might in a short time have caused a pestilence.

The station which the rebels chose, when they bent their force toward Gorey, was the hill of

Corrigrua, seven miles towards the southwest from that town. A body of above a thousand, some say four thousand, detached from this post, took possession of the little village of Ballycannoo, four miles from Gorey, to the south, on the evening of the 1st of June, and were advancing to fix their station on the hill of Ballymanaann, midway between the above-named village and town, when they were met near the village by the garrison of Gorey, who had marched to stop their progress. Having returned home the preceding day with my family from Arklow, I happened to be at that time on the road near Gorey, when a man on the top of a house cried out to me that all the country to the south was in a blaze; for straggling parties of the rebels attending the motions of the main body had as usual set fire to many houses. I had hardly got a view of the conflagration, when I heard a discharge of musketry, which continued some time without intermission. Since I have learned the particulars of this engagement, I consider it, though small and unnoticed, as one of the most brilliant of the croppy war.

The little army, which had marched from Gorey on this occasion, consisted of twenty of the Antrim militia, under lieutenant Elliot, who directed the movements of the whole; twenty of the North-Cork; about fifty yeoman infantry, including supplementary men; and three troops.

of yeoman cavalry, the last of whom, I mean all the cavalry, were useless in battle. As the rebels had not procured accurate intelligence, and as troops from Dublin had been some days expected, the cloud of dust, excited by the little army of Gorey, caused them to imagine that a formidable force was coming against them. Under this persuasion, they disposed not themselves to the best advantage, for they might easily have surrounded and destroyed the little band opposed to them. They attempted it however in a disorderly manner; but so regular and steady a fire was maintained by the militia, particularly the Antrim, that the half-disciplined supplementals of the yeomen, encouraged thereby, behaved with equal steadiness; and such was the effect, that the rebels were totally routed, and fled in the utmost confusion in all directions. The yeoman cavalry, notwithstanding repeated orders from lieutenant Elliot, delayed too long, through mistake of one of their officers, to pursue the runaways, otherwise a great slaughter might have been made. The victorious band advancing fired some houses in Ballycannoo, and spread such a terror that no attempt was made against them from the post of Corrigrua; so that they returned safely to Gorey, with above a hundred captive horses and other spoil.

In this engagement, and all others in the beginning of the rebellion, the rebels elevated their

guns too much for execution, so that only three loyalists were wounded, none killed. The number of slain on the opposite side was probably about sixty, perhaps near a hundred. Many fine horses, which the routed party was obliged to leave behind, were by them killed or maimed, that they might be rendered useless. The hardiness and agility of the labouring classes of the Irish were on this and other occasions in the course of the rebellion, very remarkable. Their swiftness of foot, and activity in passing over brooks and ditches, were such that they could not always in crossing the fields be overtaken by horsemen; and with so much strength of constitution were they found to be endued, that to kill them was difficult, many after a multitude of stabs not expiring until their necks were cut across. In fact, the number of persons who in the various battles, massacres, and skirmishes of this war, were shot through the body, and recovered of their wounds, has greatly surprised me. A small occurrence after the battle, of which a son of mine was a witness, may help to illustrate the state of the country at that time:—Two yeomen coming to a brake or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud screech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire; but he

being a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing, commanded the concealed persons to appear, when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety.

Disappointed, by the defeat at Ballycannoo, of taking post on Ballymanahan-hill on the 1st of June, and of advancing thence to Gorey on the 2nd, the rebel army on Corrigrua-hill remained in that station till the 4th. Meantime the long and anxiously expected army under major-general Loftus arrived in Gorey. The sight of fifteen hundred fine troops, with five pieces of artillery, filled every loyal breast with confidence, insomuch that not a doubt was entertained of the immediate and total dispersion of the rebels. The plan was to march the army in two divisions, by two different roads, to the post of Corrigrua, and to attack the enemy with combined forces; in which attack they expected the co-operation of some other troops. But while this arrangement was made, on the 4th of June, by the army, the rebels were preparing to quit Corrigrua, and to march to Gorey; for, by a letter from Gorey to a priest named Philip Roche, then in bed in the house of Richard Donovan, Esq. of Ballymore, at the foot of the above-mentioned hill, information was received by the rebel chiefs, about one o'clock in the morning, of the intended

motions of the army. The publicity of the adopted plan of operations, by which the disaffected in the town were enabled to give this information to the enemy, was probably occasioned by the imprudence of colonel Walpole, who claimed an independent and discretionary command. Intelligence of the plan of the rebels march was carried to the army with the most eager dispatch, by a respectable farmer, named Thomas Dowling, who made application successively to several officers, all of whom despised his information, and some threatened him with imprisonment and chastisement if he should not cease his *nonsense*.—The army began its march in two divisions, according to the above plan, about the same time that the rebels began theirs in one body. The latter were met nearly midway between Gorey and Corrigrua by the division under colonel Walpole—a gentleman much more fit for the place of a courtier than that of a military leader. As no scouts nor flanking parties were employed by this commander, he knew nothing of the approach of the enemy until he actually saw them, at the distance of a few yards, advancing on him in a place called Tubberneering. Walpole seems not to have been deficient in courage. The action commenced in a confused manner. The rebels poured a tremendous fire from the fields on both sides of the road, and he received a bullet through the

head in a few minutes. His troops fled in the utmost disorder, leaving their cannon, consisting of two six-pounders and a smaller piece, in the hands of the enemy. They were pursued as far as Gorey, in their flight through which, they were galled by a fire of guns from some of the houses, where some rebels had taken their station. The unfortunate loyalists of Gorey, who a few minutes before had thought themselves perfectly secure, fled, as many as could escape, to Arklow with the routed army, leaving all their effects behind.

While Walpole's division was engaged with the enemy, general Loftus, marching by a different road, that of Ballycannoo, and hearing the noise of battle, detached seventy men, the grenadier company of the Antrim regiment of militia, across the fields to its assistance. This body was intercepted by the rebels, who were in pursuit of the routed army, and almost all killed or taken; and as near forty men of Walpole's division were lost, the detriment on the whole amount was considerable. Meanwhile, the general, ignorant of the colonel's fate, and unable to bring his artillery across the fields, continued his march along the highway, and coming round by a long circuit to the field of battle, was at last made acquainted with the event. He then followed the march of the rebels toward Gorey, and coming within view of them, found them posted on Gorey-hill,

a commanding eminence, at the foot of which the town is built. Convinced that he could neither attack them in their post with any prospect of success, nor pass by them into the town without great hazard, he retreated to Carnew, and in his retreat was saluted with a fire of the artillery of the rebels from the top of the hill, whither they had, by the strength of men, drawn the cannon taken from Walpole's men, beside some pieces brought from Wexford. Thinking Carnew an unsafe post, though the gentlemen of that neighbourhood thought, and still think, quite otherwise, as he was there at the head of twelve hundred effective men, he abandoned that part of the country to the rebels, and retreated nine miles farther, to the town of Tullow, in the county of Carlow.

While one formidable body of the Wexfordian insurgents was advancing its position toward the north, another still more formidable was preparing to attempt the same toward the south-west. The conquest of New Ross, in that quarter, situate on the river formed by the united streams of the Nord and Barrow, would have laid open a communication with the disaffected in the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, many thousands of whom were supposed ready to rise in arms at the appearance of their successful confederates. The seizure of that important post, when it might have been effected

without opposition, on the 29th of May, the day succeeding that in which Enniscorthy had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, had been vehemently urged at Enniscorthy by a chief named Hay, and a great number had agreed to march with him for that purpose. Fortunately, on the arrival, already related, of Edward Fitzgerald, accompanied by Colclough, from Wexford prison, this plan was for a time laid aside.—Fitzgerald, between whom and Hay an enmity had subsisted, and even a duel been fought, opposed the scheme of marching to Ross, and recommended the release of the prisoners in Wexford by the capture of that town. His influence being superior to that of Hay, his proposal was adopted; and thus captain Boyd, by the sending of this man to Enniscorthy, prevented a most dangerous extension of the rebellion.

When the immediate object recommended by Fitzgerald was attained, the rebel army at Wexford, choosing Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, now liberated from prison, for their generalissimo, divided into two main bodies: one of which directed its course northward to Gorey; the other, conducted by Harvey in person, had for its object the conquest of Ross. The latter, after having taken post on Carricburn-mountain, within six miles of Ross, where it was reviewed and organized, advanced on the fourth of June to Corbet-hill, within a mile of that

town, the object of attack for the next morning. Harvey, though neither destitute of personal courage, nor in some respects of a good understanding, possessed not that calm intrepidity which is necessary in the composition of a military officer, nor those rare talents by which an undisciplined multitude may be directed and controuled. He formed the plan of an attack on three different parts of the town at once, which would probably have succeeded if it had been put in execution.—Having sent a summons for surrendry of the town to the commander of the king's troops, with a flag of truce, the bearer of which, of the name of Furlong, fell by a shot in the performance of his mission,* he was arranging his forces for the assault, when, finding them galled by a fire from the out-posts of the garrison, he ordered a brave young man, of the name of Kelly, to put himself at the head of five hundred men, and to dislodge the troops who were giving this annoyance. Kelly, followed confusedly by a much greater number than he wished, executed his commission; but his men, instead of returning to the main body as they had been ordered, rushed headlong into

* To shoot all persons carrying flags of truce from the rebels, appears to have been a maxim with his majesty's forces. The measure may have been unintelligibly wise, but it may have rendered the rebels more ferocious, and prevented the escape of loyalists who otherwise might attempt to run from the rebels and take refuge with the royal troops.

the town, drove back the cavalry, with slaughter, on the infantry; seized the cannon, and being followed in their successful career by crowds from the hill, seemed some time nearly masters of the town.—From a full persuasion of a decided victory in favour of the rebel army, some officers of the garrison fled to Waterford, twelve miles distant, with this alarming intelligence.

As the original plan of attack was neglected and forgotten by the rebels, flushed with the success of this premature onset in one quarter, the troops of the Dublin and Donegal militia maintaining their posts at the market-house, and a station called Fairgate, prevented them from penetrating into the centre of the town; while major general Johnson, the commander, a man of consummate courage and fervent zeal for the welfare of his country, was, by vehement exertions, aided by those of an extraordinary gentleman, an inhabitant of Ross, named M'Cormick, labouring to rally the discomfited soldiery.

Mr. M'Cormick, who had served in the army, acted with skill and activity on this occasion, flying from post to post, conspicuous, like the Grecian ajax, with a brazen helmet and lofty stature. Brought back to the charge by uncommon efforts, after they had fled across the river to the Kilkenny side, the troops of the gallant Johnson recovered their post, and drove the rebels from the town—the outskirts of which were

now in flames, fired by the assailants and disaffected inhabitants, as Enniscorthy had been. The rebels in their turn, rallied by their chiefs, returned with fury to the assault, and regained some ground. Again dislodged by the same exertions as before, and a third time rallied, they were at last finally repulsed, after an engagement of above ten hours, ending about two o'clock in the afternoon.

Though this was doubtless the most bloody battle of the croppy war, I am not convinced that the loss of the assailants amounted to three thousand, or even two thirds of that number. That of the royal army in killed, wounded, and missing, was acknowledged to be two hundred and thirty, of whom ninety lay dead on the scene of action.* This army, before the battle, had consisted of about twelve hundred men.—The rebels left behind them in their retreat fourteen swivel guns, and four cannon on ship-carriages. An artillery man of the royal army, a prisoner of the rebels, had been appointed to the management of one of those cannon, with menaces of instant death if he should not level right, and death he instantly found for aiming high. The fight had been so irregularly maintained by the rebel forces, that beside the neglect

* Among the slain were cornet Ladwell, of the 5th dragoons, and lord Mountjoy, colonel of the county of Dublin militia.

of their original plan, probably not half, or even a fourth part of their number, (supposed to be near twenty thousand) ever descended from Corbet-hill to share the danger; and many in the beginning of the action fled to their homes, and were, some hours before the decision of the combat, giving a fancied narration of the success of the day.

The alliance of cowardice with cruelty cannot perhaps be more strongly exemplified than in some of this day's transactions. Some run-away rebels, who had not dared to hazard their persons in the battle, turned their fury against objects equally void of criminality as incapable of resistance. Beside the massacre of three protestant men, who had fought courageously on the side of the rebels against the king's forces, they committed an act of such atrocity as requires no comment:—At the house of Scullabogue, the property of a Mr. King, at the foot of Carrick-burn-mountain, had been left, when the rebel army marched to Corbet-hill, above two hundred protestant prisoners of both sexes and all ages, under a guard, commanded by John Murphy, of Loghnagheer. The run-aways declared, that the royal army in Ross were shooting all the prisoners, and butchering the catholics who had fallen into their hands, feigned an order from Harvey for the execution of those at Scullabogue. This order, which Harvey,

himself, a protestant, and a man of humanity, was utterly incapable of giving, Murphy is said to have resisted—but his resistance was vain. Thirty-seven were shot and piked at the hall-door; and the rest, a hundred and eighty-four in number, crammed into a barn, were burned alive—the roof being fired, and straw thrown into the flames to feed the conflagration. I have conversed with some respectable men who viewed the scene of this diabolical action on the following day, and who were struck with inexpressible horrors at the sight. Father John Shallow, Roman catholic priest of Adamstown, has been charged by some with being concerned in, or approving of this horrid business; but from the affidavits of three protestants which I have read, and other grounds, I am decidedly inclined to think the charge not well founded. Another priest is on more probable grounds considered by some as the chief instigator of this horrible deed—whose name I forbear to mention, lest he may possibly be innocent, and I should unjustly bring odium on him.* A few Romanists, according to some accounts fifteen in number, one of whom was Father Shallow's clerk, had been, partly by mistake or inadvertence, partly

* I, however, after having written this volume, now find his name (Father Murphy of Taghmon) given in Sir Richard Musgrave's great collection, stiled, "Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland." I wish he may prove his innocence.

from obnoxious circumstances in the unfortunate objects, inclosed in the barn with the protestants, and by the precipitancy of the murderers shared the same fate.*

Re-occupying, on the day of their defeat at Ross, their former post on Carrickburn, the rebel troops murmured against the military conduct of Harvey, who in consequence resigned a command not better than nominal, and retired to Wexford. Removing from this position, after a stay of two days, they took post on Slyeeve-Keelter, a hill which rises over the river of Ross, formed by the united streams of the Nore and Barrow, probably with design to intercept the navigation of this channel between Waterford, Ross, and Duncannon-fort. In this

* How strangely are the feelings of mankind governed by party-spirit? Many, who have felt a just horror (and too great they could hardly feel) for this atrocious massacre, have admired the conduct of men who committed acts not less atrocious on the *right side* of the contest. For instance, Suwarrow or Suvarof, who fought against the Poles and French, caused, beside other massacres, all the inhabitants of Praga, men, women, and children, to be butchered, in number at least ten thousand, beside the garrison. Most of these miserable people were burned alive, with circumstances not less horrible than those of Scullabogue: and Suvarof, next day, sat on horseback exulting over the inexpressibly shocking scene of desolation. Yet, what loyalist would have refused to drink the health of Suvarof in the temporary career of his success, or refuse him the praise of a virtuous hero? No counterfeit loyalist could refuse it.

they in some degree succeeded; for, though they failed in their attempts on some gun-boats, in their engagements with which some lives were lost, they obliged some small vessels to surrender; in one of these was a mail, from which they learned much concerning the state of the kingdom in general from news-papers and private letters. Here, by a tumultuous election, was chosen for general, in the place of Harvey, Father Philip Roche, already mentioned as a leader at the battle of Tubberneering, a man of large stature and boisterous manners, not ill adapted to direct by influence the disorderly bands among whom he acted. Without such influence, titles of command were merely nominal; nor among a number of chiefs in a rebel army, could any one with truth be said to govern the whole body. The priests, by their habitual government in spiritual matters, had naturally the principal sway, especially those whose rage of bigotry was most conspicuous. Great numbers of the rebels acknowledged no other leader than Father John Murphy, the fanatic who first raised the flag of insurrection in the county of Wexford.

Quitting the post of Slyeeve-Keelter in three days after their arrival, the troops of Philip Roche occupied the hill of Lacken, within two miles of Ross, where they formed a less irregular encampment than usual, many tents being erected

for the lodgment of their officers. A detachment, sent hence for arms and ammunition to the town of Borris, in the county of Carlo, twelve miles distant, on the 12th, was, by a fire of the garrison from the house of Mr. Cavenagh, used on the occasion as a fortress, repulsed with the loss of ten killed and many wounded, while only one soldier fell on the side of the loyalists; but this handsome little town was in great part burned. With exception of this fruitless attempt, the bands on Lacken lay inactive, regaling themselves on the slaughtered cattle and liquors, which were procured in plenty from the country in their possession, and so negligent of their safety, that, in any night after the two first, they might have been surprised and put to the rout by a small detachment from the garrison of Ross.

Inactivity, at least procrastination, among the rebels was not confined to the army of Philip Roche; for to the terrible repulse at Ross, received by their forces on the south-western border, was added an error of conduct on the northern, which, providentially for the British empire in general, and the protestants of Ireland in particular, caused the ruin of their scheme. Many persons are of opinion that government had, by burnings, imprisonments, free quarters of soldiers, floggings, and other severe measures, intended to force a partial insurrection of the

United Irish, in order that by the suppression of it, all schemes of Rebellion might be eradicated. In my opinion, to prevent, not raise insurrections, must have been the object of government; the latter being too dangerous a stratagem for any wise politician to design. If the rebels, immediately after the rout of Walpole's army, had advanced to Arklow, they could have taken possession of it without the least resistance; for the garrison fled from it on the morning of the 5th of June, before day, to Wicklow. The insurgents then, of the county of Wicklow, who had with the utmost difficulty been kept in check by major Hardy, the commander in that part, and who had been repulsed in five different actions, neither easily describable, nor of use to be described, must have become far more audacious, and have co-operated with the Wexfordian rebels. The garrison of Wicklow must, like that of Arklow, have abandoned its post, on the approach of the united multitudes, and fallen back on Bray, only ten miles from the capital. The rebels might have proceeded with perpetually encreasing numbers, and seized Bray in like manner; and what in all probability would have been the effect of this motion, when so many thousands in Dublin and the adjacent counties were waiting for such an opportunity to take arms, I am unwilling to state. I am also unable to explain the motive for a piece of

conduct in the officer who commanded in Arklow when the garrison was preparing for flight ; orders were issued that no person should be permitted to quit the town until the garrison had marched ; so that if the rebels had come, as they were every moment expected, the whole multitude of fugitive women and children of the loyalist party must have fallen into their hands. If this order was intended to prevent the intelligence of Walpole's defeat from being carried northward, it was quite nugatory, as that intelligence was conveyed by several different roads :* and to imagine that the commander proposed to delay the rebels in their pursuit of the garrison, by the incumbrance of this captive multitude, would be to charge him with both cruelty and folly. The condition, however, of the poorer fugitives, was altered greatly for the better by the evacuation of Arklow, where they had been starving. On their way to Wicklow they were unmercifully plundered by the soldiery, but on their arrival there they found a comfortable subsistence, contributed by the charitable inhabitants of that town and neighbourhood.

As major Hardy was ignorant of the great force of the rebels posted at Gorey, he highly

* An exaggerated account of this disaster was received by the disaffected in Dublin, before it was known by the members of administration at the castle ; for the societies of the conspiracy had an established mode of speedy conveyance by verbal messages from one secretary to another.

disapproved of the evacuation of Arklow, and commanded the garrison instantly to return from Wicklow to their post, without even permission to taste any refreshment. It was augmented on the sixth by the arrival of the Cavan regiment of militia, and at one o'clock on the morning of the 9th by that of the Durham fencibles. The arrival of this regiment, one of the best disciplined in the service of his Britannic majesty, was extremely critical, as it prevented the taking of Arklow by the rebels, the consequences of which would in all probability have been so great and disastrous that I shudder at the thoughts of them. This regiment had been most remarkably active and successful, in the preceding year, in the county of Down, in disarming the United Irish, and thereby preventing rebellion in that part. When ordered southward, on account of the insurrection in Leinster, an ambuscade of seven thousand men was placed in the county of Meath, to the north of Balbriggan, to surround and cut it to pieces on its march; but by the excellent dispositions made by its leader, colonel Skerrett, it passed this formidable ambuscade without loss, and arrived safely in Dublin; whence, after much deliberation, and a delay dangerous at such a crisis, it was sent to Arklow; carriages being wisely procured for the men, in the French republican fashion, that they might be brought unfatigued to the scene of

action. This was fortunate; for their utmost vigour, discipline, and firmness, were soon put to a severe trial.

A few hours after their arrival, one of those ludicrous incidents occurred, which, amid the calamities of war, serve to exhilarate the spirits of military men. Two of the officers of this regiment, passing by the house of Mr. Miles O'Neile, in Arklow, where general Needham was quartered, and where a great breakfast was prepared for the general and his guests, were mistaken by a servant for two of these guests, and informed that breakfast was ready for them and their associates. This intelligence being communicated, the Durham officers came instantly in a body and devoured the whole breakfast. One of them, captain Wallington, remaining behind the rest, assembled about him the drivers of the carriages in which the regiment had travelled from Dublin, to pay them severally their dues. The general, at length arriving with his company of hungry guests, was at first astonished when he saw his lodgings occupied with a crowd of wrangling coachmen; but soon being informed of the fate of his breakfast, he burst into a rage, and drove out the intruders with such fury, that they, with their paymaster, tumbled one over another in the street, in their haste to escape.

More serious objects in some hours more engaged the attention of the troops. The rebels,

who after the defeat of Walpole's army on the 4th of June, had wasted their time in burning the town of Carnew, in trials of prisoners for orange-men, the plundering of houses, and other acts of like nature, at length collected their force at Gorey, and advanced to attack Arklow on the 9th, the only day in which that post had been prepared for defence. Their number probably amounted to twenty-seven thousand, of whom near five thousand were armed with guns, the rest with pikes, which gave them in some points of view the appearance of a moving forest, and they were furnished with three serviceable pieces of artillery. The troops posted for the defence of this, at that time, most important station, consisted of sixteen hundred men, including yeomen, supplementary men, and those of the artillery. The rebels attacked the town on all sides, except that which is washed by the river. The approach of that column, which advanced by the sea shore, was so rapid, that the picket guard of yeoman cavalry, stationed in that quarter, was in extreme danger, a party of the rebels having entered and fired what is called the fishery, a part of the town on that side, composed of thatched cabins, before they could effect their escape, so that they were obliged to gallop through the flames, while the main body of this rebel column was at their heels. So great was the terror of this troop of yeomen that most

of them stopped not their flight till they had crossed the river, swimming their horses, in great peril of drowning, across that broad stream. The farther progress of the assailants was prevented by the charge of the regular cavalry, supported by the fire of the infantry, who had been formed for the defence of the town, in a line composed of three regiments, with their battalion artillery, those of the Armagh and Cavan militia, and the Durham fencibles. The main effort of the rebels, who commenced the attack near four o'clock in the evening, was directed against the station of the Durham, whose line extended through the field in front of the town to the road leading from Gorey.

As the rebels poured their fire from the shelter of ditches, so that the opposite fire of the soldiery had no effect, colonel Skerrett, the second in command, to whom major-general Needham, the first in command, had wisely given discretionary orders to make the best use of his abilities and professional skill, commanded his men to stand with ordered arms, their left wing covered by a breast-work, and the right by a natural rising of the ground, until the enemy leaving their cover should advance to an open attack. This open attack was made three times in most formidable force, the assailants rushing within a few yards of the cannons mouths; but they were received with so close and effective a fire, that they were

repulsed with great slaughter in every attempt. The Durhams were not only exposed to the fire of the enemy's small arms, but were also galled by their cannon. A piece of these, directed at first much too high, designedly by a soldier, taken prisoner by the rebels, of the name of Shepherd, appointed to manage the gun, was afterwards levelled so by Esmond Kyan, a rebel chief, that it broke the carriage of one of the battalion guns, and obliged the left wing of the regiment to shift its ground, by advancing twenty paces, to avoid being enfiladed by the shot. One of the balls carried away the whole belly of a soldier, who yet lived some minutes in that miserable condition, extended on the ground, and stretching forth his hands to his associates. Whatever talents general Needham may have possessed as a leader, of which I think it not necessary to give my opinion, he displayed for some time the courage of a soldier, riding from post to post exposed to the enemy's fire. He, however, at last, began to talk of a retreat. The resolution of colonel Skerrett, on that occasion, saved Arklow, and, in my opinion, the kingdom. His reply to the general, when addressed on the subject of a retreat, was in words to this effect.*

* This proposal of a retreat has been most uncandidly denied in a pamphlet, by Sir Richard Musgrave, who has, however, acted in this quite consistently with his general manner as a writer. I refer the reader to Appendix, No. 9.

“ We cannot hope for victory otherwise than by
“ preserving our ranks : if we break, all is lost ;
“ and from the spirit which I have seen displayed
“ at this awful crisis by the Durham regiment, I
“ can never bear the idea of its giving ground.”

By this magnanimous answer of the colonel the general was diverted some time from his scheme of a retreat, and in that time the business was decided by the retreat of the rebels, who retired in despair, when frustrated in their most furious assault, in which Father Michael Murphy, priest of Ballycannoo, was killed, by a cannon shot, within thirty yards of the Durham line, while he was leading his people to the attack. This priest had been supposed by the more ignorant of his followers to be invulnerable by bullets or any other kind of weapon ; to confirm them in which belief he frequently shewed them musket balls, which he said he caught in his hands as they flew from the guns of the enemy. Though I was well acquainted with the extreme credulity of the lower classes of my Romanist countrymen, I could not give credit to this account until I found it confirmed beyond a doubt by various concurring testimonies. The same divine protection was believed to be possessed by Father John, the famous fanatic already mentioned.

This battle, though not altogether the most bloody, was perhaps the most important of this war, since it probably decided the fate of Ireland.

As the rebels were not pursued, for a pursuit would have been very hazardous, particularly near the close of the evening, which was the time of their retreat, they carried away most of their wounded, so that their loss could not be ascertained, but may have amounted to three or four hundred. The loss of the Durham regiment, out of three hundred and sixty men, of which it consisted, was twenty privates killed and wounded. The loss of men sustained by the rest of the army I could not accurately learn; but it was very small, much less than might have been expected; for though the weight of the combat lay on the Durhams, the action was every where warm, and the defence bravely maintained.

CHAP III.

Reflections—Tinnehehy—True blues—Kilcavan—Ask Hill—Vinegar Hill—Roche—Davis—Killegny—Killan—Vinegar Hill—Needham's Gap—Horetown—Wexford—Dixon—Massacre—Priests—Offers of Surrender—Captain Boyde—Bloody Friday.

AS the repulse at Arklow decided the fate of the rebellion, so it fortunately left undecided a question how far the Romanists would have carried religious animosity if the insurrection had been successful. The violent acts of the insurgents in Gorey and its neighbourhood were not near so great as in the southern parts of the county. Of the latter I shall speak hereafter. The former might, by an advocate of their cause, be coloured with a pretext of retaliation, since acts of the same kind had been committed by the loyalists, as the burning of houses, the quartering of men on families for subsistence, imprisonments, trials of prisoners by court-martial, the shooting of prisoners without any trial, and the insulting of others by cropping the hair and covering the head with a pitched cap. But an opinion is entertained, I fear indeed with too much foundation, that if the post of Arklow

had been taken, and thus a wide prospect opened for the success of the rebellion, the protestants remaining in the power of the rebels, in the county of Wexford, were to be massacred with few exceptions. Many also believe that the persons excepted from this first massacre were destined for an ultimate slaughter on the final success of the insurgents, and that even the leaders of the rebels, who were protestants, were to be included in this proscription. The war from the beginning, in direct violation of the oath of United Irishmen, had taken a religious turn, as every civil war in the south or west of Ireland must be expected to take, by any man well acquainted with the prejudices of the inhabitants. The terms protestant and orangeman were almost synonymous with the mass of the insurgents; and the protestants whom they meant to favour, were generally baptized into the Romish church by the priests of that communion. But whatever degree of religious bigotry or party hatred had been hitherto discovered by the insurgents in general, many individuals had evinced much humanity in their endeavours to mitigate the fury of their associates.

This bigotry and fury I consider not as attributable to well educated and well informed Roman catholics. From political causes, which I now hope to see speedily removed, the lower orders are so degraded by superstition and enflamed with

its rancour, compounded with political and personal resentment, that in the hour of triumph their own priests and leaders were unable to prevent the pernicious effects. If the catholic clergy were salaried by the state, and the arm of the law rendered stronger than that of magistrates and great men of the country, we might hope to see shortly a moral and intellectual improvement in the great body of Irish peasantry, a body of splendid elements, very well deserving the attention of a wise legislature.

The rebels had burned only a very small part of the town of Gorey, and only two houses of gentlemen in its immediate vicinity, those of Ramsfort and Clonattin; the former the mansion of Stephen Ram, Esq. the latter, that of colonel Abel Ram, of the Wexford regiment of militia. As the owner of the latter was bravely fighting against the insurgents, its destruction can cause no surprise, though it was much regretted by many among them, because his father and himself in succession had been remarkable for their humanity and generosity to their tenants. The very amiable character of the females who had dwelt in the former—lady Charlotte Ram, sister of the Earl of Courtown, and her daughters, who possess the disposition of the Stopford family—might have been expected to save it from the flames, since the veneration of the insurgents for a character of extraordinary beneficence, even

when the person possessed of it was in direct opposition both to their political and religious principles, was demonstrated in a manner which the modesty of the person concerned permits me not to mention.

Repulsed at Arklow, the rebels were obliged to adopt a defensive plan. They hoped to maintain at least some of their posts until the arrival of a French army should alter the state of affairs. They intended not, however, to omit any opportunity of annoying their opponents in the interim; and the main body of their force posted at Gorey, and on Limerick hill, four miles distant, moved away twelve miles, to a place called Mountpleasant, near the town of Tinnehely, in the county of Wicklow. This town and neighbourhood had hitherto been protected by the activity of the protestant inhabitants, who, in the preceding April, had embodied themselves, to the number of a hundred and fifty-one, under the title of the *True-Blues* of Tinnehely, choosing Henry Morton, Esq. the next resident magistrate, for their leader; and uniting with the Shilela company of yeoman infantry, under captain James Morton, in conjunction with whom they performed regular and active duty both day and night. The town was now, on the 17th of June, burned, and many houses in the country around; many persons were put to death with pikes, under the charge of being orangemen; and many more would have

suffered if they had not been spared, at the humane intercession of a Romanist lady, a Mrs. Maher, in that neighbourhood. The True-Blues, who had retreated to Hacketstown, six miles distant, returned, accompanied by other companies and troops of yeomen, (the whole forming a body of about five hundred men) to attack the rebels; but finding them furnished with cannon, and their number formidable, they again retreated to the same post. On the following day, the 18th of June, a considerable body of troops, which had arrived from Baltinglass, under the command of lieutenant-general Dundas, furnished with a train of artillery, marched from Hacketstown, where the True-Blues were left as a garrison, and went to attack the rebels at Tinnehely; but these had retreated, and taken post on Kilcavan hill—a lofty eminence two miles distant from Carnew. This army of insurgents, at whose head was Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, a Romish gentleman, of the county of Wicklow, had intended to surprise Hacketstown, but were prevented by the arrival of the troops under Dundas. These troops, forming a junction with those of general Loftus from Tullow, marched to attack the rebels on Kilcavan. To surround and oblige the whole body to surrender, was thought by many a matter of easy accomplishment, but this was judged by general Lake, who commanded the combined forces on that occasion, either not practicable or

not adviseable; for, after a cannonade on both sides, with little execution, and tremendous shouts of defiance from the rebels, with their hats raised on pikes, according to their constant practice, the general retired to Carnew, and Byrne's army, the same night, the 20th of June, directed its march to Vinegar-hill.

During these transactions, the rebels who had remained in Gorey and its neighbourhood were gradually dispersing. A part of them retired to Wexford, bringing with them the prisoners who had been confined in the market-house of Gorey. These had been severely treated; they had been supplied with food only once in the twenty-four hours, cropped, pitch-capped, and exposed from the windows, to the insults of the shouting multitudes on their march to attack Arklow. Some had been shot or piked to death. The mass of remaining rebels took their station on the hill of Ask, above a mile from Gorey, on the way to Arklow. After the battle at the last-named town, the royal army remained some days close within its quarters there, sending out patrols with great caution, at first to a very small distance, and afterwards gradually farther. At last a troop of yeoman cavalry ventured so far on the road toward Gorey as to approach near the rebel station on Ask hill. This post had been so thinned by perpetual desertions, that not more than about a hundred men fit for action

were then remaining in it, and these without a leader. How very differently different men may be excited to act by their natural feelings, when under no external controul, on the sudden appearance of danger, was forcibly shewn on this occasion. About half of the rebel warriors fled with precipitation at the approach of the cavalry; while the rest of them, stripping to their shirts, that they might be more expedite for the business, ran full speed to charge the cavalry with their pikes: but the latter avoided the attack, and retreated to Arklow with expedition. Immediately after this, the country about Gorey was completely evacuated by the rebels, to the no small joy of many loyalist families, who, by the sudden and unexpected victory over Walpole, had been prevented from escaping, and on whom the enemy had been living at free quarter.

The army, at last, under major-general Needham, moved from Arklow to Gorey, on the 19th of June, and thence toward Enniscorthy on the 20th, according to a concerted plan, conducted by lieutenant-general Lake, that the great station of the rebels at Vinegar-hill should be surrounded by his majesty's forces, and attacked in all points at once. For this purpose, different armies moved at the same time from different quarters—one under lieutenant-general Dundas; another under major-generals Sir James Duff and Loftus; that already mentioned from Arklow; and a fourth

from Ross, under major-generals Johnson and Eustace—who were to make the attack on the town of Enniscorthy. The march of the army from Ross was a kind of surprise to the bands of Philip Roche on Lacken hill, who fled in the utmost confusion, leaving their tents and a great quantity of plunder behind; and separating into two bodies, one of which took its way to Wexford, the other to Vinegar-hill, where the Wexfordian insurgents were concentrating their force.

This now famous eminence, rather infamous as a scene of religious butchery, had, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, and the country far around, been in possession of the rebels above three weeks from the 28th of May. During all this time the face of affairs had been indescribably hideous. Horrors and incessant apprehensions of death attended the hapless protestants who had not effected their escape from the devoted ground:—they were every where seized: a few put to death where they were discovered, but most of them dragged to Vinegar-hill, where, after a sham trial, often without any form of trial, they were shot, or transfixed with pikes; many lashed, or otherwise barbarously treated before the final execution. To state with indubitable accuracy the exact number of men thus butchered in this fatal spot I will not pretend to say; but it appears from unquestionable documents to have fallen little short of four hundred.

The bloody list of sacrifices immolated to the spirit of religious or civil rancour, far more especially the former, would have still been longer, if individual humanity or friendship had not in some instances interposed to arrest the hand of murder. This interposition came sometimes from a quarter whence it was least expected. Thus Philip Roche was in appearance fierce and sanguinary; yet several persons now living owe their lives to his boisterous interference. An instance may serve in some small degree to illustrate the tumultuous transactions of these calamitous times.

Two protestants, in a respectable situation in life, brothers, of the name of Robinson, inhabitants of the parish of Killegny, being seized and carried to Vinegar-hill, some of their Roman catholic tenants, anxious for their safety, galloped at full speed to Roche's quarters at Lacken, and begged his assistance. He immediately sent an express with orders to bring the two Robinsons to Lacken, pretending to have charges of a criminal nature against them, for which they should be tried. The miscreants on Vinegar-hill, who were preparing to butcher these men, though they were advanced in years, and unimpeachable with any other crime than that of protestantism, on receipt of Roche's orders relinquished their prey, not doubting that death awaited them at Lacken. But Roche, whose

object was to snatch these innocent men from the jaws of the blood-hounds, immediately on their arrival at his quarters, gave them written protections, and sent them to their homes, where they were soon after in danger of being hanged by the king's troops, who were too ready to pronounce disloyal all such as had been spared by the rebel parties.

A few persons, after being supposed to be slain outright, recovered so far as to attempt an escape, but were apprehended in the attempt, and finally dispatched. The recovery of Charles Davis of Enniscorthy, a glazier, was extraordinary. After having remained four days concealed in the sink of a privy, during which time he had no other sustenance than the raw body of a cock, which had by accident alighted on the seat, he fled from this loathsome abode, but was taken at some distance from the town, brought to Vinegar-hill, shot through the body and one of his arms, violently struck in several parts of the head with thrusts of a pike, which, however, penetrated not into the brain, and thrown into a grave on his back, with a heap of earth and stones over him. His faithful dog having scraped away the covering from his face, and cleansed it by licking the blood, he returned to life after an interment of twelve hours, dreaming that pikemen were proceeding to stab him, and pronouncing the name of

Father Roche, by whose interposition he hoped to be released. Some superstitious persons hearing the name, and imagining the man to have been revived by the favour of Heaven, in order that he might receive salvation from the priest, by becoming a catholic, before his final departure, took him from the grave to a house, and treated him with such kind attention that he recovered, and is now living in apparently perfect health.

The exception of the protestants of Killegny, a parish five miles to the south-west of Ennis-corthy, of which I am at present the incumbent, from the general slaughter of such as fell into the hands of the rebels in this part of the country, is somewhat remarkable, not one protestant of this parish having been killed in the rebellion, nor a house burned. These people, surrounded on all sides before they were aware, found flight impracticable. Their preservation, beside secondary causes, appears chiefly ascribable to their temporising conformity with the Romish worship, and to the very laudable conduct of the parish priest, Father Thomas Rogers, who, without any hint of a wish for their actual conversion, encouraged the belief of it among his bigotted flock. A few indeed of the poorer sort of protestants in this parish remain to this day conformists, probably through fear

of a second insurrection.* The Rev. Samuel Francis, my predecessor, and his family, after being once brought to the Romish chapel, were permitted to remain at home; but were in danger of perishing for want of sustenance, until victuals were sent them by the same priest, and by a Roman catholic family of the name of Fitzhenry. Mr. Francis, however, died five months after the rebellion, perhaps in consequence of the agitations of mind which he had suffered. We may naturally suppose, from the then prevailing temper of the multitude, that the fate of the protestants of Killeghny was only suspended, and that a longer continuance of the rebel force in this quarter must have involved their destruction. A ruthless mob were collecting the protestants of both sexes in the adjoining parish of Killan, with intention to burn them alive in the parish church, or, according to their phrase, to make an *orange pye* of them: for which purpose a sufficient quantity of faggots was prepared, when a body of brave yeomen from Kiledmond in the county of Carlow, and the march of the army from Ross, prevented the execution of the infernal design.

This army, together with all the troops already mentioned, commanded to march from different quarters to surround the rebel post of

* They are now again all become protestants, except a young man named Charles Edwards.

Vinegar-hill, constituted in the whole amount a force of above thirteen thousand effective men, with a formidable train of artillery. With such a force the whole insurgent army at this post, in which lay almost the whole strength of the rebellion, must have been annihilated by slaughter or surrendry, if the plan had been well executed. The attack began at seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st, with a firing of cannon and mortars, and all the armies were in their several posts, except that of general Needham, who arrived not at the appointed position till nine, when the business was over. For this the honourable commander can doubtless account in the most satisfactory manner, though the matter is not clear to me.* However, this and other occurrences gave occasion to some

* Sir R. Musgrave says, that this piece of conduct of general Needham arose from orders inconsistent, and impossible to be executed, sent him by general Lake. As general Lake is certainly of no such puny intellect as to merit the title of an *old woman*, he had doubtless good reasons for what orders he issued, and knew how to apply each instrument to its proper purpose. The commonly received opinion is, that general Lake, unwilling to permit the slaughter of so many thousands, which would have been horrible ; or to urge their despair, which might have been dangerous ; and distrusting the discipline of his men, who perhaps could not possibly be restrained from slaughter in case of the surrendry of the rebels, contrived a gap for their escape in the quarter of general Needham, without deigning to confide his plan to that commander.

ill-natured persons to bestow on him the epithet of the *late general Needham*. The rebels after sustaining the fire of the artillery and small arms for an hour and a half, abandoned their station and fled where the passage lay open for them, which passage has been ludicrously termed *Needham's gap*, most of them directing their course toward Wexford. Some hundreds were killed, who were found straggling from the main body after the battle; but unfortunately almost all the real rebels escaped, and the killed were persons who had been forced away contrary to their inclinations, and who took this opportunity of escaping from the rebel army, but, as they could not be distinguished, found no mercy; some of them were loyal protestants, prisoners with the rebels.* As the flight was precipitate, they left behind them a great quantity of rich

* Doctor Hill, of Saint-John's, near Enniscorthy, a gentleman highly esteemed by all his acquaintances, was with his two brothers, within a hair's breadth of augmenting the number of slaughtered loyalists on this occasion. These three gentlemen, who had been prisoners with the rebels, and in the most imminent danger of their lives, ran for protection to the first whom they saw of the royal troops, and these happened to be Hessians. Three of these protectors immediately put their cocked pistols to the heads of the three gentlemen, when a pikeman, running at full speed past them to escape from other soldiers, diverted their attention for the moment: they thought proper to dispatch him first, but he led them such a chase as saved the gentlemen.

plunder, together with all their cannon, amounting to thirteen in number, of which three were six-pounders. The loss on the side of the king's forces was very inconsiderable,* though one officer, lieutenant Sandys of the Longford militia was killed, and four others slightly wounded, colonel King of the Sligo Regiment, colonel Vesey of the county of Dublin Regiment, lord Blaney, and lieutenant-colonel Cole.

Enniscorthy being thus recovered after having been above three weeks in the hands of the rebels, many loyalists in it were relieved from a dreadful state of terror and distress. Excesses, as must be expected in such a state of affairs, were committed by the soldiery, particularly by the Hessian troops, who co-operated with the British on this occasion, and made no distinction between loyalists and rebels. The most remarkable act of this kind was the firing of a house which had been used as an hospital by the rebels, where a number of men, fourteen at least, who by wounds and sickness were unable to escape from the flames, were burned to ashes. I merely mention the fact, which is too consonant with the spirit of civil and religious warfare. Different

* The loss in general Johnson's army alone, which suffered more than all the rest, amounted to twenty killed, sixty-seven wounded, and six missing.

readers will judge differently, according to their several feelings and prejudices.*

The town of Wexford was relieved on the same day with Enniscorthy. Brigadier-general Moore, according to the plan formed by general Lake, having made a movement toward that quarter from the side of Ross, on the 19th, with a body of twelve hundred troops, furnished with artillery; and having directed his march to Taghmon, in his intended way to Enniscorthy, on the 20th, was, on his way thither, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, attacked by a large force of the enemy from Wexford, perhaps five or six thousand, near a place called Goff's bridge, not far from Horetown.—After an action, which continued till near eight, the rebels were repulsed with considerable slaughter, not without some loss on the other side, though the only two officers mortally wounded were major Daniel, and lieutenant Green. This engagement, fought in loose array, or in scattered parties, over a wide extent of ground, was, if I have not misconceived it, on a comparison of several accounts from spectators of the scene, the best fought battle of the croppy war, with respect to manœuvres of the field on both sides. By the positions and evolutions of the soldiery, and

* I am informed by a surgeon, that the burning was accidental; the bed-clothes being set on fire by the wadding of the soldiers' guns, who were shooting the patients in their beds.

their own want of subordination to their chiefs, the pikemen of the rebels were prevented from coming into action; while no more, I am credibly informed, than five hundred and sixty of their gun-men were engaged. Yet the combat was long doubtful. In the short space of three weeks, an undisciplined and unorganized mob had arrived at some degree of military skill, and acquired much resolution in battle:—a lesson to governments to lose no time in taking the most efficacious means in their power to extinguish rebellion in its first blaze! I am assured, however, by respectable witnesses, that great numbers in this rebel army manifested much fear and reluctance in their march to the field of battle, frequently halting to kneel, and pray, and receive the benedictions of the clergy, till Father Roche at length lost all patience, and asked them with a hearty curse did they think that they had nothing to do but pray? And was it not time to think of fighting? The plan of Roche, who seems to have been intended by nature for a military man, is supposed to have been to surprise the town of Ross with one part of his army, while the other was engaged with general Moore; which plan was frustrated by the irregularity of his men.

Joined by two regiments under lord Dalhousie, the army took post on the field of battle; and on the morning of the 21st was proceeding to

Taghmon, when captain M'Manus, of the Antrim, and lieutenant Hay, of the North-Cork militia, who had been prisoners with the rebels, arrived with proposals from the inhabitants of Wexford to surrender the town, and to return to their allegiance, provided that their lives and properties should be guaranteed by the commanding officer. To these proposals, which were forwarded to his superior commander, no answer was returned by general Moore; but, instead of proceeding to Taghmon, he immediately directed his march to Wexford, and stationed his army within a mile of that town.

The loyalists of Wexford, like those of Enniscorthy, had, since the place had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, been in a state of woe and incessant fear. Of a vast number of protestants assembled in this place, inhabitants of the town, and refugees and prisoners from several parts of the country, two hundred and sixty were confined in the goal, and other places of imprisonment; the rest were prisoners in their houses, under perpetual apprehensions of being shot, piked, or starved to death. Among the latter, was the Rev. John Elgee, rector of Wexford, whose life was saved by the gratitude of some of the lowest of the people, for the Christian charity which he had on all occasions manifested to unfortunate wretches committed to the public prison. The Rev. William East-

wood, rector of Killan, who was fully entitled to the same gratitude on the same account, had the good fortune to escape to Wales without hazarding a trial of this virtue in the rebels. Great numbers were saved by the humane endeavours of the chiefs, whose influence, though very far from controuling the furious rabble in all cases, had so far an effect as to prevent the massacres of Wexford, (which were, however, horribly atrocious) from equalling in extent those of Enniscorthy. The chiefs themselves, particularly those few among them who had been educated in the protestant religion, were in perpetual danger of death, or violence at least, from the ungovernable multitude, whom they had unwisely hoped to command. A strong instance of this was, that captain Keugh, who had been appointed governor of Wexford by the rebels, was one day, as he was sitting in committee with a number of other chiefs, arrested by a common fellow, by the authority of the rabble, as a traitor in league with orange-men; and when the arrest was resisted by the members of the committee, the infuriate multitude without, who were crowded together in thousands in the streets, roared with horrid vehemence to those who stood most convenient for the purpose, to drive out the committee, and pull down the house. This alarming tumult was appeased by the address of Keugh, who, in a speech from a window,

displayed on the occasion no despicable talents of eloquence.

As I am fully persuaded that most, I hope all, of the rebel officers, who had received the education of gentlemen, most certainly those who were protestants, would have prevented massacres, if it had been in their power, so I have reason to believe that some low-bred persons, chosen to this rank by the rebels, rather instigated than restrained the sanguinary disposition of the rabble. Of the latter description appears to have been Thomas Dixon, who from a captain, and in part owner, of a trading vessel, became captain in the rebel army; a man who, like Robespierre, and other unfeeling monsters in the French revolution, would probably, in case of success on the side of the rebels, have endeavoured to raise himself to eminence by exciting the lowest of the rabble, under the mask of zeal for their cause, to the murder, not only of all those who had not acceded to their party, but also of the then existing chiefs of the insurrection. Orange furniture being found by the wife of this man in the drawing-room of Mr. Le Hunte, four miles from Wexford, particularly two fire-screens, with emblematical figures, Dixon informed the mob that this room had been the meeting place of orange-men, and that the figures denoted the manner in which the Roman

Catholics were to be put to death by these conspirators; that they were to be first deprived of their sight, and then burned alive, without the exception even of children; and particularly that the seamen of this communion were to be roasted to death on red-hot anchors. Le Hunte, who had hitherto been permitted to remain with little molestation in a private house in the town, was instantly dragged into the street by the rabble, who would soon have torn him in pieces, if he had not been saved by the exertions of two of the chiefs, Edward Hay,* and Robert Carty, who hurried him into the gaol, under pretence of bringing him to trial, and parried in the crowd the thrusts of the pikes, two of which, in spite of their endeavours, wounded him slightly in the back.

In so perturbed a state of affairs, among a mob so absurdly credulous, so inflammable and ferocious, a general massacre might justly be apprehended; and if partial massacres had frequently taken place we could not be surprised. On the 6th of June, the day after the battle of Ross, perhaps as an immolation to the departed souls of Romanists killed in that bloody encounter, ten men were selected for execution by a rebel guard sent for that purpose from Enniscorthy.

* I am convinced that Mr. Hay had no command among the rebels, and exerted himself only to save lives and property. See appendix, No. 8.

These victims were protestants from that unfortunate place; and thither they were conveyed back by the guard, and massacred. The difference in degree of resentment shewn by the rebels to the loyalists of Enniscorthy and Wexford may have arisen from the different receptions which they had found at these two towns; the yeomen and volunteers of the former having fought with a valour fatal to many of the assailants, while the latter had surrendered without a struggle, the post being abandoned by the army, whose retreat was notified by a deputation to the rebels. This distinction, however, could produce only a short respite. A general slaughter of the prisoners, to which the townsmen of Wexford were adverse, wastwice in vain attempted by Dixon, at the head of bands of peasants. He was magnanimously opposed, first by one Hore, a butcher, and next by one Scallion a nautical trader, the former with a sword, the latter with a pistol, defying him to single combat, and insisting that he must *shew himself a man* before he should dare to put defenceless men to death.

Dixon, however, relinquished not his bloody design, and at length, on the 20th of June, commenced a great massacre, doubtless intended to be much greater, probably universal, of all the prisoners, perhaps, of all the loyalists in Wexford. The victims were conducted in successive parcels, of from ten to twenty with horrible solemnity—

each parcel surrounded by its guard of butchers, and preceded by a black flag marked with a white cross, to the place of execution, where they were variously put to death, one after another, but mostly each by four men at once, who standing two before and two behind the victim, thrust their pikes into the body, and raising it from the ground, held it suspended, writhing with pain, while any signs of life appeared. Some were slaughtered at the gaol, some at the market house, but the great butchery was on the bridge—a magnificent wooden fabric, ill adapted, from the beauty and gaiety of its appearance, for such hideous exhibitions. As an entertaining spectacle, in fact, it seems to have been regarded by a multitude of wretches, the greater part women, assembled to behold it, who rent the air with shouts of exultation on the arrival of each fresh parcel of victims at the fatal spot.—The wife of Thomas Dixon, already mentioned, a worthy associate of such a man, requested that the prisoners, instead of being slaughtered at the gaol, should be conducted to the bridge for the purpose, that the people might have the *pleasure* of seeing them. Dixon himself is said to have prepared his immediate followers for their bloody work by Whiskey, and to have taken possession of the town and gaol while the main body of the rebel garrison was on its march against general Moore.

When ninety-seven men had been deliberately butchered in succession, the slaughter, which had commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon, was suddenly stopped at seven, by the interference of Father Curran, and the annunciation of the alarming intelligence that the post of Vinegar-hill was beset by the king's troops, and that reinforcements were required in that quarter. Father Curran having vainly supplicated the assassins to desist, commanded them to pray before they should proceed farther in the work of death; and having thus caused them to kneel, dictated a prayer *that God would shew the same mercy to them which they should shew to the surviving prisoners.* The respite thus procured would have doubtless been short, if the exhortations of the priest had not been aided by the news of danger, which was announced aloud by some person, said to be Richard Monaghan, or Monck, arriving hastily in the town, and which caused the multitude of spectators immediately to disperse.* The surviving captives at the bridge were after a short pause re-conducted to prison by their guard, who swore that the next day neither man, woman, nor child of the protestants in Wexford should be left alive.

* Monaghan had been what is called *mayor of John-street*, an officer peculiar to Wexford, elected by the lowest class of inhabitants, who pay him a voluntary obedience in various regulations.

Much has been written in the accusation and defence of the Romanist clergy of Wexford, who are said to have refused to interfere until five hours of butchery had elapsed, and the news of the menacing movements of 'the king's forces arrived; though their influence might be supposed as powerful at two o'clock, when the massacre commenced, as at seven. I must confess myself incompetent to form an accurate judgment in this controversy. To attempt to stop the slaughter of real or supposed rebels, where the loyalists were victorious, would have been not only altogether fruitless in a protestant clergyman, but even extremely dangerous to his personal safety. Certainly the influence of the Romish clergy over their followers (which, however, seems at present in a state of decline) is beyond all comparison greater than that of the protestant over theirs: yet to what extent that influence might, among so infuriate a rabble, have been safely or successfully exerted; or how far constitutional timidity, or well grounded fear, may be justly admitted as a plea, I cannot pretend to determine. Dr. Caulfield, the Romish bishop, succeeded, with apparently extreme difficulty, in his endeavours to rescue from the assassins, lord Kingsborough, colonel of the North-Cork regiment of militia, who had rendered himself particularly an object of hatred, at least, to the rebels, by actions, concerning the utility of which to the loyal party

I shall not presume to give judgment, but leave the decision to the loyalists of Wexford, who saw the example which he set, and the discipline which he maintained in the regiment.* The limitation of the doctor's interference to a person of high rank, who might in reverse of fortune repay the service, has with seeming justice been deemed by some a proof of interested conduct; and his success, in favour of so obnoxious a subject, an irrefragible argument of his ability to save many others.

The doctor, however, has written a good pamphlet in his own vindication, and the following is part of his narrative:—"Having received a most pressing message from Lord Kingsborough and captain Keugh, early on the morning of Thursday the 21st of June, 1798, I hastened to them, to the house of Robert Meyler, where Lord Kingsborough was still a prisoner. On my arrival, captain Keugh told me he had that morning given up the government of the town to Lord Kingsborough, and the mayoralty to Dr. Jacob: they both told me that the rebels were beaten and routed every where, and were

* This nobleman had been in Dublin, absent from his regiment, when Wexford was taken by the rebels; and was so full of that confidence which was observed in many officers in those times, that he would not believe the news of the disaster; and going from Arklow by sea to join his Regiment in Wexford, was taken prisoner in the harbour.

pouring into the town by thousands from all quarters; that if they continued any time in the town, they would proceed to murder all the prisoners, as they had declared the day before; and that if the troops should overtake them in the town, they would make a general slaughter of them, and perhaps indiscriminately of the inhabitants, and reduce the town to ashes; that the only means of preventing these shocking disasters was to get the rebels out of the town; that a strong representation of their own danger, and of *Lord Kingsborough's negotiations* with the military commanders and government, would have more weight with the rebels than any exhortations or consideration of duty. They then called on and conjured me to exert myself, and to call the rest of the clergy to help me to prevail on the rebels, as they came in, to leave the town for their own and the general safety.

“ In this state of things I did not skulk or fly (as perhaps I might); I immediately sent to the clergy: they came to assist me, and not only they, but many or most of the Roman catholic inhabitants of Wexford, loyal men, (though some to save themselves had been obliged to appear as rebels) nay, even real professed rebels aided us. Mr. Perry, the notable captain Dixon, &c. helped us. We did our utmost from nine or ten in the morning to the going down of the sun, and, under God, we succeeded in prevailing

on the rebels to leave the town, and thereby prevented all the mischief and misfortunes which might, and probably would attend and follow from their remaining in it.

“ It is obvious that Lord Kingsborough might have been spared or saved, for reasons or circumstances that did not operate for others, or for any other individual. He was a nobleman of interest and consequence, an important hostage, a military man *treating with military commanders for favourable terms for the rebels*. These circumstances and considerations did not attend or attach to other individuals, which must have weight with even a rebel in his serious and cool senses, particularly in so perilous a situation. Hence I think it fair to say that his lordship might have been spared, though others had suffered. But, I thank God, the truth is, no one suffered on that day or occasion. My interference was not limited to any person of any rank, but for all; my conduct was disinterested, and my intention pure.” The doctor defies me to deny with effect what he has here stated. But I have apparently no right, and therefore no inclination to deny the doctor’s statement. I insert in appendix, No. 5, a letter from him to a magistrate, which appears to be much in his favour.

In fact Lord Kingsborough was considered by the rebel chiefs as a valuable hostage; and perhaps if they had fully availed themselves of

this advantage, some terms might have been obtained in their favour; though of the lives of hostages in general no account seems to have been made by the commanders of his majesty's troops. The offers of surrendry transmitted by captain M'Manus, already mentioned, and forwarded by general Moore to his superior, were disdainfully rejected by general Lake who returned for answer that no terms could be granted to rebels in arms, but that the deluded multitude might have peace and protection when their arms and leaders should have been delivered into his hands.

This deluded multitude would certainly have committed a tremendous massacre on the 21st of June, the day of general Moore's march toward Wexford, if they had not been persuaded by their devoted leaders that conditions of surrendry would be obtained. For this purpose lord Kingsborough, who on the occasion entered into certain engagements in favour of the rebels, was liberated, made governor of the town, and charged with proposals to be sent to general Moore. How far his lordship endeavoured to fulfil those engagements, which was probably quite beyond his power,* I am not authorized

* Epsign Harman of the North-Cork, being sent by his lordship with proposals to general Lake, was intercepted and shot, by order of the fanatic Father Murphy, who said that 'he would have no peace.' When his lordship heard of, Har-

to say; but a reliance on them was doubtless the cause of preventing some leaders from attempting to escape. Others, indeed, some of whom are still alive, had no reliance on them. How difficult the prevention of massacre was at that time may in some degree be conceived from the following instance.

After the evacuation of Wexford by the main body of the rebels, Father Philip Roche, accompanied by three gentlemen of that denomination, met in his way out of town four men from the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy, who said that they were going into Wexford to put the prisoners to death, since others had not the courage to do it. While Roche with a drawn sword commanded them to turn back without entering the town, and one of them with a blunderbuss presented at him, swore that none should prevent them, the three gentlemen of Roche's company fled "from the wind of such contention," leaving him to contend alone with the four murderers. After a furious altercation the matter was compounded. The murderers took a solemn oath (and an oath to a priest is peculiarly binding) that they would merely take a little refreshment, and immediately quit the town without the perpetration of any mischief.

man's death he coolly said, '*the devil mend him.*' Harman had been an amiable and brave officer, with a wife and family, but he had not been subservient to the indulgence of the vices of any superior officer.

Not therefore without reason were horrible apprehensions entertained, concerning the danger of their friends in Wexford, by the loyalists in general Moore's camp; and captain Boyd, whose amiable consort, niece to the earl of Courtown, together with all the rest of his family, was in prison, entreated the general to march without delay into the town to prevent the apprehended massacre, or to permit him to take a party of soldiers with him for the purpose. As the general, probably from a fear of the excesses which might be committed by the soldiery, who perhaps might not be easily restrained from licentious acts, in the execution of such a measure, assented not to his request, the captain at length ventured at five o'clock in the afternoon, with only eight yeomen of his troop, to gallop into Wexford, and happily found it abandoned by the rebel forces, part of whom had passed over the bridge to the eastern side of the river Slaney, and the rest in an opposite direction into the barony of Forth.* Thus to retreat, without further injury to the loyalists in their

* That some of the rebels were still in town (some say, relying on their imagined capitulation) and that shots were fired at captain Boyd's party, but without effect, (for what end I cannot clearly understand) is asserted by indubitable authority. It is probable that a few desperadoes had remained for some bad purpose, the execution of which was prevented by the appearance of this brave little band. The probability of this may be supported by what I have related of Roche's rencounter.

power, they had been induced by the management of some chiefs, particularly Mr. Keugh, who awaited the arrival of the king's troops, hoping doubtless that the services rendered on this occasion might procure him impunity. Detachments of the army soon following captain Boyd, the surviving prisoners, to the number of about one hundred and forty, who had been miserably fed with cows' heads and potatoes, were, to their inexpressible joy, set at liberty. What number had been massacred during the whole time of the rebels possession, I cannot state with accuracy, but I believe it to have amounted to one hundred and one.

While the surviving loyalists in Wexford were rejoicing at their deliverance, a very tragic scene was acted in Gorey. On the departure of general Needham from the latter town to Vinegar-hill, on the 20th of June, he had sent an express to captain Holmes, of the Durham regiment, who commanded in Arklow, ordering him to dispatch immediately to Gorey that part of the Gorey cavalry who remained in Arklow, and informing him, that on their arrival at their place of destination, they should find an officer to command them, and a large force with which they were to unite. By the same express the Gorey infantry were ordered to remain in Arklow; but these, and the refugee inhabitants of Gorey, hearing of a large force to protect their town, were so impa-

tient to revisit their homes, that they followed the cavalry contrary to orders. This body of cavalry, amounting only to seventeen in number, found on their arrival in Gorey, to their astonishment, not an officer or soldier. They, however, had the courage or temerity to scour the country in search of rebels, with the assistance of some others who had joined them, and killed about fifty men whom they found in their houses, or straggling homeward from the rebel army. On the 22d, a body of about five hundred rebels, under the conduct of Perry, retreating from Wexford, and directing their march to the Wicklow mountains, received information of this slaughter, and the weakness of the party committing it. They instantly ran full speed to the town, determined on vengeance. On intelligence of their approach, lieutenant Gordon, a youth of only twenty years of age, who had the command, marched his men (consisting of fourteen infantry, beside the cavalry out of the town to meet the enemy, and took post in an advantageous position near a place called Charlottegrove, where they fired some volleys on the rebels, seven of whom they killed; but finding that they must be immediately surrounded and destroyed if they should attempt to maintain their post, they retreated, and each horseman taking a footman behind him, fled through the town toward Arklow. As by this motion the refugees, who

had returned from Arklow, and were now attempting to escape again thither, were left exposed to the pursuit of the enraged enemy, the officer attempted to rally the yeomen on the road, to cover, if possible, the flight of these unfortunate people; but the yeomen galloped away full speed to Arklow in spite of his remonstrances, and the refugees were slaughtered along the road to the number of thirty-seven men, beside a few who were left for dead, but afterwards recovered. No women or children were injured, because the rebels, who professed to act on a plan of retaliation, found on inquiry that no women or children of their party had been hurt. This was owing to the humanity of a young gentleman of seventeen years of age in the yeoman cavalry, who had by his remonstrances restrained his associates from violence with respect to the fair sex. In the action of this day, which will be long remembered in Gorey under the title of *Bloody Friday*, only three of the yeoman infantry were killed, and none of the cavalry. The rebels having accomplished their purpose of revenge, their only motive for deviating from their course to visit Gorey, resumed, after a short repast, their march to the Wicklow mountains.

CHAP. IV.

*Ulster—Antrim—Saintfield—Ballinahinch—Ballyna-
scarty—Scollogh gap—Gore's bridge—Castlecomer—
Kilcomny—Hacketstown—Perry—Ballyellis—Bally-
raheen—Ballygullin—Clonard—Incursion—Dis-
persion.*

MOUNTAINS now, and other devious recesses, since their expulsion from Enniscorthy and Wexford, were the only retreats of the rebels, of whom those who remained in arms, endeavoured by rapid movements from one strong position to another to elude the king's forces, and thus to protract the war until the arrival of their foreign allies.* In the time of the operations already related, by which the rebels of the county of Wexford were reduced to this situation, occurrences had elsewhere taken place, some of which are to be noticed. The province of Ulster, where insurrection had been most of all dreaded, and where from the spirit of the inhabitants it would,

* Their expectation of foreign succour was expressed in the following verse of one of the songs, which they were accustomed to sing at this time.

Up the rocky mountain and down the boggy glyn,
We'll keep them in agitation until the French come in.

if extensive, have been most of all formidable—remained undisturbed, excepting two districts, where, as the insurgents were unsupported, they were soon suppressed. Neither, from the principles of the northern people, better educated, and possessing more of the purity of true religion, were the insurgents of this quarter deliberately guilty, except in one instance, of the plunder, devastation, and murder of the southern.

One of these insurrections was in the county of Antrim, in the neighbourhood of the town of that name, on the 7th of June. A meeting of magistrates being appointed to be held on that day in Antrim, for the prevention of rebellion, the insurgents, with design of seizing the persons of these, attacked the town at two o'clock in the afternoon, and soon overpowering the troops within it, very nearly gained possession. Major-general Nugent, who commanded in that district, having received intelligence of the intended rising, and the immediate object of it, had ordered a body of troops to march to Antrim, who arrived too late to prevent the rebels from the execution of their design in the attack of the town. They then attacked the insurgents in the town, but their van-guard, consisting of cavalry, being repulsed with the loss of twenty-three men killed and wounded, of whom three were officers, colonel Durham, who commanded the troops, brought the artillery to batter the

town, which obliged the insurgents to abandon it, together with a six-pounder which they had brought with them, and two currie guns which they had taken from the king's army. They were pursued toward Shane's-castle and Randals-town, with slaughter, and perhaps may have lost in all near two hundred. In this engagement colonel Lumley, of the 22d regiment of dragoons, and lieutenant Murphy, were wounded; cornet Dunn was killed; and Lord O'Neil was mortally wounded.* A small body also assaulted the town of Larné, but received a repulse from the garrison in the barrack, consisting of a detachment of the Tay fencibles, under a subaltern officer. Feeble attempts were also made at Ballymena and Ballycastle. — The main body afterward retired to Donnegar-hill, where, disgusted with their want of success and other circumstances, the greater part broke or surrendered their arms, and almost all of them dispersed, to which they were exhorted by a magistrate, named M'Cleverty, who had been taken prisoner by them.

On the day succeeding that of the rising in the county of Antrim, a partial insurrection com-

* Lord O'Neil had ridden into the town to attend the meeting of the magistrates, not knowing that the rebels were in possession of it. He shot one who had seized the bridle of his horse, after which he was dragged from his saddle, and so wounded with pikes that he died in a few days.

menaced in that of Down—a body of insurgents making their appearance near Saintfield, under the command of an inhabitant of Newtownards, a Dr. Jackson. In their progress through the country they set fire to the house of a man named Mackee, who had been an informer of treasonable meetings: eleven persons perished in the flames—and circumstances of cruelty were shewn not inferior to those of the burning at Scullabogue. Electing for their general, Henry Munro, a shop-keeper of Lisburn, they placed themselves, on the 9th, in ambuscade, in the neighbourhood of Saintfield, awaiting the approach of a body of troops under colonel Stapleton, consisting of York fensibles and yeoman cavalry. The ambuscade so far succeeded, that the royal troops were for some time in danger of total defeat—losing about sixty of their number, among whom were captain Chetwynd, lieutenant Unitt, and ensign Sparks, and also the Rev. Mr. Mortimer, vicar of Portaferry, who had volunteered.—The infantry, however, on whom the cavalry had been driven back in confusion, rallying with a cool intrepidity not common in those times, dislodged and dispersed the rebels, and after a stay of two hours on the field of battle, retreated to Belfast.

Little discouraged by this defeat, in which their loss was very small, the rebels reassembled, and took post at Ballynahinch, on the Wind-

mill-hill, and at the house and in the demesne of lord Moira. On the 12th, general Nugent, marching from Belfast, and colonel Stewart from Downpatrick, formed with fifteen hundred men a junction near the Windmill-hill, of which they gained possession, together with the town, which lies in a valley between this hill and the high ground in lord Moira's demesne. On the latter the rebels (four or five thousand in number) were posted or encamped. Both armies spent the night in preparations for battle, which commenced early in the morning of the 13th, while the town was in flames, the troops having wantonly set it on fire. The action was maintained about three hours with artillery, with little or no execution—the cannon of the insurgents being small, and tied on the backs of cars; while the shells thrown from the mortars of the royal army were furnished with too short fusees, so that they all burst in the air. At length the Monaghan regiment of militia, posted with two field pieces at lord Moira's great gate, was attacked with such determined fury by the pikemen of the insurgents, that it fell back in great confusion on the Hillsborough cavalry, who likewise fell back in equal disorder. The want of discipline in the insurgents lost what their valour had gained. The disordered troops found means to rally while the Argyleshire fencibles, entering the demesne, were making their attack on another

side. The insurgents, confused and distracted, retreated up the hill, and making a stand at its top, at a kind of fortification, defended the post for some time with great courage, but at length gave way and dispersed in all directions. Their loss appears, from the best account which I have received of this battle, to have amounted to about a hundred and fifty; that of the royal army to about forty in killed and wounded, of whom two were officers of the Monaghan regiment, lieutenant Ellis wounded, and captain Evatt shot dead through the body. The main body of the insurgents retired to the mountains of Slye-eve-Croob, where they soon surrendered or separated, returning to their several homes; and thus, with the execution of their leaders, as elsewhere, and the discouraging news of the massacres of protestants in the south, terminated this very short and partial, but active and vigorous insurrection—in the course of which some slighter actions had taken place, particularly the attack of Portaferry by a strong party of men, on the 11th, who were repulsed by the yeomanry posted in the market-house, under captain Mathews, and the fire of a revenue cruiser commanded by captain Hopkins, with the loss of about forty men.

On the subsiding of this local rebellion in the north-eastern quarter of Ireland, another local rebellion, much inferior in vigour, and very easily suppressed, commenced in the opposite

south-western quarter, in the county of Cork. Accompanied with the same kind of violent acts as elsewhere in the south, and exhibiting nothing extraordinary or peculiar, it requires little notice. The principal action, and the only one which government has thought proper to communicate to the public, took place near the village of Ballynascarty, where, on the 19th of June, two hundred and twenty men of the Westmeath regiment of militia, with two six-pounders, under the command of their lieutenant-colonel, Sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, by a body of between three and four hundred men, armed almost all with pikes. This was only a part of the rebel force, here placed in ambush in a very advantageous position. The attack was made from a height on the left of the column, so unexpectedly and rapidly, that the troops had scarcely time to form; but the assailants were quickly repulsed with some loss, and retreated to the height. Here, if the soldiers had pursued them, from which they were with great difficulty restrained, they would probably have been surrounded and slaughtered like the North-Cork detachment at Oulart. While the officers were endeavouring to form the men again, a body of rebels were making a motion to seize the cannon, and another body made its appearance on the high grounds in the rear; but, at the critical

moment, a hundred men of the Caithness legion, under the command of major Innes, who, on their march to Cloghnakilty, had heard the report of the guns, came to their assistance, and by a brisk fire put the assailants to flight on one side, after which those who were on the heights behind retired on receiving a few discharges of the artillery. The loss of the rebels in this action may perhaps have amounted to between fifty and a hundred men; that of the royal troops, by the commander's account, only to a serjeant and a private.

When from these little insurrections, so local and of so few days duration, we return to view the proceedings of the Wexfordian insurgents, we are struck with the noxious consequences of the permission given them to escape towards Wexford from Vinegar-hill, if indeed that escape could have, without horrid slaughter, been prevented. To the account of whatever person was the author of this escape, are, I think, chargeable all the devastations and slaughters committed by the various parties of these insurgents, from the time of their dislodgment till that of their final dispersion. To trace these parties through all their marches and counter-marches would be fatiguing to the reader, and might prove nearly as much so to the writer as the actual performance was to the hardy peasants, who bore the various hardships of their desultory warfare with sur-

prising strength of constitution, and a vigour of mind well worthy of a better cause. I have already said, that on their evacuation of Wexford, part of the rebels passed over Wexford bridge, the rest into the barony of Forth; and that a body of the former, under Perry, in its march to the Wicklow mountains, committed the slaughter of bloody Friday. The main body of the latter, supposed to be fifteen thousand in number, deserted by those leaders who were men of education and property, directed its march, under Father John Murphy, north-westward to Scollogh-gap—an opening in the great ridge of Mount-Leinster, which separates the counties of Wexford and Carlow—with intention to penetrate through the latter county into that of Kilkenny, in the hope of being able to excite an insurrection there, particularly among the colliers about Castlecomer, who had been in a state of disturbance in the year 1793. Entering the gap, and driving before them some troops who attempted to oppose their progress, they burned the little town of Killedmond, immediately within the pass in the county of Carlow, and continued their march to Gore's-bridge, called also New-bridge, a neat village on the river Barrow, in the county of Kilkenny, where they arrived in the morning of the 23d of June. A small body of men, consisting chiefly of a troop of the 4th dragoon guards, and a company of the Wexford

militia, took post on the bridge of this town to prevent their passage of the river, but was quickly defeated, with the loss of a few killed, and twenty-seven taken prisoners, of whom seven, condemned as orange-men, were shot; and in this melancholy business their fellow soldiers were forced to be the executioners. Major-general Sir Charles Asgil, who had marched with a force of about a thousand men to seize the post of Newbridge, and stop the progress of this rebel army, arrived too late — the enemy having already, after their success, commenced a rapid movement to a long mountainous ridge, termed by them the ridge of Leinster, five miles from Castlecomer, where they spent the night.

The general was likewise on the following day too late in his arrival at Castlecomer for the protection of that town, whither the protestants were flying to take refuge from the country exposed to the depredations of the enemy. Early in the morning of the 24th, the rebel troops, diminished by desertion to about eight thousand, descended from the heights, and advancing toward Castlecomer, defeated a body of about two hundred and fifty men, at a place called Coolbawn, a mile and a half from that town, which they entered with the slaughter of about fifty loyalists. The town was set on fire—and of this conflagration each party accuses the other. The general arriving at length with his

army, fired with his artillery on the streets and houses, not knowing that many loyalists were still in the place, who were making a desperate defence to prevent their families and friends from falling into the enemy's hands. This firing, however, determined the rebels to retire from the town about four o'clock in the afternoon, which furnished an opportunity to the protestants there assembled to retreat with the general to Kilkenny; but they were obliged to leave their goods a prey to the enemy, who took full possession of the place as soon as the royal army retreated. If at first a fog, and afterward the smoke of the conflagration, had not concealed from the rebels the smallness and disposition of the force opposed to them, they would have, long before the arrival of the general's army, surrounded the town, and taken all the loyalists in it prisoners. In a report to government, four hundred rebels are said to have fallen in this engagement; but I have no grounds to believe that their slain amounted even to near a fourth of that number.

After plundering Castlecomer, the rebels again retired to the high grounds, where they remained till the following day. Disappointed in their hopes of an insurrection in the county of Kilkenny, where few had joined their standard, and these few useless to them in battle, since none except themselves had learned to dispute

the field with the royal troops; finding also their own forces diminished by desertion, to between four and five thousand, and their ammunition expended, they resolved to retreat back through the pass of Scollogh-gap into the county of Wexford. According to this determination they moved from the ridge, in the morning of the 25th of June, and directing their march toward Newbridge, took post near that town at a place called Kilcomny, on a rising ground in a wide flat. Here they were assailed on three sides, at once, on the following morning, the 26th, at six o'clock, by the army of general Asgil, of near twelve hundred men, and that of major Mathews, of about five hundred, from Maryborough, consisting chiefly of Downshire militia. The alacrity of the latter army to attack the insurgents, seems to have been the cause why these were not permitted to escape into their own county without a battle. After about an hour's firing of cannon, the rebels, fearing to be surrounded, fled towards the gap with their usual celerity, leaving all their plunder and artillery to the loyalists. Their artillery consisted of ten light pieces, and among the articles of plunder were seven hundred horses. The loss of the royalists has been stated by the general at only seven men: that of the rebels may have amounted to two or three hundred, as they were pursued six miles by some

of the cavalry.* They forced their way back through the gap, where they were opposed by a small body of men, and directed their course north-eastward, through the dwarf woods, near Ferns, to the mountains of Wicklow.

Before their arrival in these mountains, an army of their associates there, had been foiled in an attempt on Hacketstown. Those rebels, who had committed a slaughter at Gorey on Friday the 22d of June, and thence under the conduct of Perry, had continued their march to the county of Wicklow, were joined there by a number of others, and would have assaulted Arklow, if they had not been deterred by the preparations there. Disappointed on that side, they turned their attention to another, and uniting their forces with those of Garret Byrne, appeared at Hacketstown at five o'clock on the morning of the 25th. The garrison, consisting of a hundred and seventy, mostly yeomen, under lieutenant Gardiner of the Antrim militia, marching to meet the enemy, were, after a few volleys, obliged to retreat: the cavalry quite from the scene of contest—the infantry, a hundred and twenty in

* I am informed that great part of the slain were inhabitants of the county which had unfortunately become the scene of action, who had not joined the rebels nor left their houses; and that great part of the plunder was taken from people of the same description. The behaviour of the army in other places renders this account very probable.

number, into the barrack. The houses were fired by the rebels, except one in which a few determined loyalists, with Mr. Magee, a clergyman, had taken post. After vainly repeated attempts, during nine hours, to force the barrack, and the garrisoned house by which it was flanked, the rebels retired, but retreated not wholly from the scene of action till seven o'clock in the evening. The loss of the loyalists, who after the repulse of the rebels retired all to Tullow, eight miles distant, was ten slain, and twenty wounded. That of the rebels, exposed so long to a galling fire, may, perhaps, have been near two hundred, among whom was Michael Reynolds, who had led the rebels to Naas in the first morning of the rebellion. Among the slain of the loyalists was captain Hardy, of the Hacketstown yeoman infantry. We must admit that the garrison could not possibly have maintained its post if the assailants had been furnished with cannon; but these engines had never been used by the rebels of the county of Wicklow; and the Wexfordians in their flight had left all theirs behind. We cannot without pleasure observe, that in the midst of so atrocious a warfare, many instances occurred of respectful treatment of the fair sex, one of which had place in this attack. The wife and two adult daughters of lieutenant Chamney, and the wife of captain Hardy, who had early in the action

fallen into the hands of the assailants, were, by the influence of Perry, and another chief, named M'Mahon, conveyed to a place of safety, and protected from all insult. The wives of the rebel commanders, Perry and Byrne, were at the same time in the hands of the loyalists, and, as must naturally be supposed, were treated with courtesy. Mrs. Perry had before experienced the like honourable behaviour, under the protection of the loyalists in Gorey.

A brief account of Anthony Perry, one of the rebel generals above-mentioned, may serve to shew what difficulty a man may find, who endeavours to extricate himself from the effects of a conspiracy against government, when he has once engaged in it. This gentleman, a man of amiable manners, and a well informed understanding, was yet weak enough to be seduced into the conspiracy; and having acted so as to cause much suspicion, was arrested and confined in Gorey a little before the insurrection. He repented heartily of his misconduct, and gave information useful to government; but such was the state of things, that he was treated in prison with the utmost harshness and indignity. Among other acts of severity, a serjeant of the North-Cork militia, nicknamed, from his habitual behaviour *Tom the Devil*, cut away all his hair quite close to the head, and then burned all the roots of it with a candle. Being liberated

by the magistrates on the morning of the 28th of May, he returned to his house, four miles from Gorey, where he hoped to be permitted to remain—unconcerned for the future in plots and conspiracies. But he was soon followed by some yeomen, who destroyed his effects, and obliged him to abscond for the preservation of his life.—Finding no alternative, he disguised himself in the habit of a beggar, and thus crossing the country, threw himself into the arms of the rebels. In the course of the war he exerted himself to restrain the cruelty of his followers: and as he disapproved both of their cause and conduct, he was always meditating an elopement from them. In an attempt, some time after the assault at Hacketstown, to penetrate into the northern parts of the kingdom, where he hoped to abscond from the rebels, and conceal himself from the partisans of government, he was taken and hanged at Edenderry, in the King's County, a little before the end of the rebellion.

A body of those rebels who had disturbed the county of Kilkenny, and fled through that of Wexford to the Wicklow mountains, finding their associates repulsed at Hacketstown, and seeing no prospect of success in that quarter, marched back, joined by many others, under the conduct of Garret Byrne, toward the county of Wexford—intending to surprise the garrison of

Carnew in their way, on the 30th of June. Intelligence being brought to the army encamped at Goréy, where general Needham commanded, of a formidable body of rebels being in motion, two hundred cavalry were detached, mostly regulars, partly yeomen, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Pulestone, of the Ancient Britons, supported by an excellent body of infantry. This party of cavalry coming within sight of the rebels, and observing them in full march on the road to Carnew, ought to have watched their movements at a moderate distance, and sent advice thereof to the camp; but instead of this, with a most unaccountable temerity, when they were unsupported by the infantry, who had been recalled, they galloped after the rebels to attack them.* The latter, finding a combat unavoidable, after running full speed to escape, rushed from the road into the fields, and placing themselves behind the hedges and walls on both sides of the way, poured a terrible fire on the cavalry; who unable either to retreat or to annoy the enemy, pushed forward toward Carnew; but by cars lying in the way, on which women belonging to the rebels had been carried, they were so retarded, and so long exposed to

* Why the infantry, whose support might have prevented this disaster, had been recalled by general Needham, I cannot tell.—Perhaps the cavalry would not have been so rash, if they had not supposed the infantry still at hand to support them.

the guns of the enemy, that without killing one of their antagonists, they suffered the loss of fifty-five men slain, of whom twenty-eight were Ancient Britons. The rest effected their escape to Carnew, and alarmed the garrison, who would otherwise have been surprised and cut to pieces, as they had taken no precautions of outpost or patrols. A malt-house, which had been spared from destruction when the rebels had burned the town, was the fortress, into which the garrison had barely time to retire when the rebels appeared, who, after an ineffectual attack, in which they sustained some loss, pursued their march to Kilcavan-hill.

Proceeding thence with somewhat diminished number, with intention to plunder and burn the houses of the loyalists at Coolkenna and its neighbourhood, they were followed in their march on the 2nd of July, by a body of about a hundred and fifty yeomen, consisting chiefly of the Shilelah troops and the True Blues of Tinnehely, who pressed them so closely that they thought proper to change their course, and to take post on Ballyrahn or Ballyraheen-hill, between Tinnehely and Carnew. Here the most prudent of the yeoman officers were of opinion that their troops ought to stop, and to content themselves with watching, at a safe distance, the movements of the enemy. Contrary opinions prevailing, an attack was made up the

hill, when the rebels, who had wished to avoid a battle, rushing down on them, put them to flight, killing ten of the infantry; but the cavalry all escaped. Two officers fell in the beginning of this action—captain Chamney of the Coolattin, and captain Nickson of the Coolkenna company, both greatly lamented. The slaughter would have been far greater, if sixty of the infantry, under captain Morton and lieutenant Chamney, had not taken refuge in captain Chamney's house at the foot of the hill, where they sustained, during fourteen hours, the attacks of the rebels, who attempted repeatedly in vain to fire the house. Some, particularly a very large man from Gorey, called John Redmond, nicknamed Shaan Plunder, advanced to the hall door, with the design of burning it, and thus opening a passage into the house, under a covering of feather-beds; but were killed in the attempt, the bullets penetrating even this thick tegument. As a discharge of musketry was maintained from the windows on the assailants, whose associates injudiciously set fire to the neighbouring house of Henry Morton, Esq. the illumination of which furnished an opportunity to the garrison of aiming at their enemies in the night, the loss of the rebels, must have been considerable—amounting, according to some accounts, to a hundred and thirty men.

After this, one body of the rebels marched

through the mountains of Wicklow to the county of Kildare, and another returned to that of Wexford.—The latter making their appearance at a place called the White Heaps, from some heaps of white stones at the foot of Croghan mountain, the armies of general Needham and Sir James Duff moved, on the night of the 4th of July, (the former from Gorey, the latter from Carnew,) to attack them. The rebels having advanced in the mean time, were met at Wicklow-gap, a pass between the mountains of Croghan and Conna, in the morning of the 5th, by Sir James Duff's army, from whom they retreated after a few discharges of his artillery, directing their march toward Gorey. They must now have been surrounded and slaughtered, if general Needham, who had visited the deserted ground of White Heaps, had not been too *late* in his movements, for Sir James Duff pursued them closely, and brought them to action at a place called Ballygullin, four miles from Gorey. Here, making a stand on some elevated grounds, they repulsed the advanced guard of cavalry, and might have taken the artillery which accompanied them, if they had not been apprehensive of an ambuscade; but by the fire of the infantry on their arrival, and that of the curricule guns, they were discomfited, and fled with their usual celerity, and with little loss, making their escape in various directions, and appointed to assemble

on Corrigrua-hill. They had been pursued in the morning by the highlanders of the marquis of Huntley's regiment, who had marched against them from Arklow by Croghan mountain, and who were prevented by a fog from finding them; and they were annoyed in their flight by a body of the King's County militia, posted in Ferns, who, on advice brought them by the Rev. Peter Browne, dean of Ferns, entered instantly on the pursuit, and killed some whom they overtook. Finding themselves hunted from place to place, by different bodies of the king's troops, and unable to maintain any post, they dispersed from Corrigrua, and no opposition was afterwards made to the royal army in the county of Wexford.

The other body of Wexfordian rebels directed their course to the county of Kildare, to form a junction with a number of their allies in that county, who had remained in arms from the beginning of the rebellion, and under the conduct of William Aylmer had eluded the king's troops, by rapid movements reciprocally from the Wicklow mountains to the bog of Allen. This junction was soon broken. The fierce Wexfordians quarrelled with their less enterprising associates; and an act of Aylmer, who took a disputed gun from one of the former, and gave it to one of his own men, almost caused a battle between the two parties.—From Prosperous the

ill associated confederates marched to Clonard, a village twenty-five miles westward of Dublin, on the river Boyne, with design to attack Athlone, and raise an insurrection in the western parts of the kingdom. Though they amounted perhaps in number to three thousand, they found so obstinate a resistance at Clonard from twenty-seven men, under lieutenant Tyrrel, a yeoman officer, in a fortified house, that they were delayed till the arrival of succours from Kinne-gad and Mullingar, and obliged to abandon the attempt.* From the time of this repulse, the 11th of July, the Wexfordians, finally separating from their less hardy associates, pursued unaided their plan of desperate adventure. Reduced to about fifteen hundred in number, and hunted in every quarter by various bodies of the king's troops, which were stationed every where around, they made a flying march from place to place, in the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth, and Dublin, under the conduct of Fitzgerald, skirmishing with such parties of the royal army as overtook or intercepted them.

* Fortified houses, with garrisons of about twenty well appointed men, appeared to be impregnable against the rebels, when destitute of cannon. From a reliance on this, two houses in the county of Kildare, near Dunlaven, were retained in defiance of the insurgents, during all the rebellion : that of Mr. Saunders of Saunders' grove, and that of Mr. Bookey of Grangebegg, now belonging to Mr. Critchley.

On the night of their repulse they plundered the village of Carbery, in the county of Kildare, and marched the following morning by Johnstown to a place called Summerhill, near Culmullin, in the county of Meath. Here, after having eluded the pursuit of some parties of soldiery, particularly that of colonel Gordon, of the Inverness fensibles, who had marched to seek them from Trim, they were attacked by colonel Gough, with a body of troops from Edenderry, and obliged to fly with precipitation and the loss of their plunder. Totally disappointed in their hopes of assistance to their cause in the county of Meath, which had been so agitated by defenderism and rebellion, they by a circuitous and rapid march made their way to the river Boyne, which they crossed near Duleek into the county of Louth. Finding themselves overtaken on the 14th, by the cavalry of major-general Wemys and brigadier-general Meyrick, who were pursuing them with two divisions of the army, they made a desperate stand between the Boyne and the town of Ardee. On the arrival of the infantry and artillery to the assistance of the cavalry, who had been endeavouring to keep the rebels at bay, they broke, and fled, with some loss, into a bog. Some of these adventurers directed their flight hence to Ardee, and dispersed; but the main body, repassing the Boyne, marched with great celerity

towards Dublin, perhaps with design to regain the Wicklow mountains. Being hotly pursued by captain Gordon of the Dumfries light dragoons, with a body of cavalry followed by infantry, they were finally dispersed, with some slaughter, at Ballyboghil, near Swords, in the county of Dublin, whence they severally endeavoured, by devious ways, to reach their homes, or places of concealment.

CHAP. V.

Dublin—Executions—Wexford—Executions—Grogan—Harvey—Colclough—Father Murphy—Father John Redmond—Prosecution—Cornwallis—Protection—Amnesty Act—Surrender of Conspirators—O'Connor's Letter—Prosecutions checked—Babes of the Wood—Holt and Hacket—Devastations—Huntley's Highlanders—Skerrett—Robberies—Damages—Compensations—Retrospect—Griffith—Coercion—Violences—Religious Animosity—Ingenuity of Peasants—Exaggerated Accounts—Population—Strength of the Irish Government—Espionage continued.

WHILE a bloody and desolating civil war (which I consider as terminated in the final dispersion of the Wexfordian rebels) had been raging in the county of Wexford, and occasionally afflicting the county of Wicklow, and petty rebellions had been elsewhere formed, the capital, vigilantly guarded by a large military force, enjoyed a peace not otherwise interrupted than by alarms of plots within and hostilities without. The chief part of this military force consisted of its own citizens, formed into yeoman companies, whose conduct on this occasion merits the highest praise. Fortunately the grand and royal canals, the former on the southern, the latter on the northern side, surrounded the city;

and, being fifty feet broad and twelve deep, formed a fortification of the nature of a wet ditch, the numerous bridges of which were palisaded, and guarded both night and day.

Trials and executions, which every where followed the suppression or discovery of conspiracies, had early commenced in the capital. Among many others, a rebel officer, a protestant named Bacon, a reputable taylor, an inhabitant of Great Ship-street, being apprehended disguised in female apparel, proceeding in a chaise to the country to join his men, or, as some say (with great probability) to conceal himself from both rebels and loyalists till the storm should subside, was executed on the 2d of June near Carlisle-bridge.—On the 14th was executed, on the same scaffolding, lieutenant Esmond, found guilty of being leader in the attack on Prosperous, already related.—On the 12th of July, Henry and John Sheares were brought to trial, condemned, and soon after put to death. The trial of John M'Cann, who had been secretary to the provincial committee of Leinster, followed on the 17th; that of Michael William Byrne, delegate from the county committee of Wicklow; and that of Oliver Bond, on the 23d. The two former were executed; but the third was reprieved, as a judicious, and indeed necessary system of mercy had been adopted since the arrival of the marquiss Cornwallis, as lord lieutenant of Ireland.

While a few trials for treason were held by jury in the metropolis, by the more summary mode of court-martial were great numbers tried in other places, particularly the town and county of Wexford. On the possession of the former by his majesty's forces, on the 21st of June, immediate search was made for the ostensible chiefs of the rebels, most of whom had sought places of concealment. Some surrendered in confidence of an imaginary capitulation. Matthew Keugh, as I have already mentioned, made no attempt to escape, hoping mercy on account of his having been formerly in danger among the rebels, and for the services which he had rendered in their evacuation of the town. But no mercy on such accounts was, in those times, to be found.—On the 25th, nine of these leaders were executed, among whom were Keugh and Philip Roche. The bridge was the general scene of execution, as it had been of massacre. The head, after death, by hanging, separated from the body, which was commonly thrown into the river, as had been the bodies of the massacred protestants, was fixed aloft on the court-house.

Among the persons who suffered for treason on the bridge, were Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan, and John Henry Colclough. Grogan, a man of an estate in land of eight thousand pounds a year, and much accumulated wealth, but of a timid spirit, had unfortunately

fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and so far misconceived the state of affairs as to imagine his property more secure under the protection of the United Irish than of the existing government; Unhappy misconception! The success of the rebels would have involved the destruction of both his property and life. He, however, through fear of the loss at least of the former, had consented to take the United oath, and to promise to act as commissary to the rebel army.* Yet, such is the inconsistency of human nature, this man, whose only guilt, with regard to treason, had been caused by his timidity, met his fate with courage, when he found death inevitable. Harvey betrayed more fear of death at the place of execution, though he was well known to have been a man of personal courage, having exposed his life with intrepidity in duels. This gentleman was possessed of a landed property of between two and three thousand pounds a year, and had in many respects borne an amiable character, particularly that of a most humane landlord—a character unfortunately not very common in Ireland! Seduced, like some other men of benevolent hearts, by the fallacious hope that

* See Appendix, No. 4. That Mr. Grogan should have been deceived into a belief of the universal success of the rebels, is not to be accounted surprising, when those who were about him, gave him confidently that information, and he had no means of knowing the truth.

such a revolution might be effected in Ireland by a popular insurrection, as would cure the defects of the political system, and prodigiously augment the prosperity of the island, he had entered into the united conspiracy; but soon convinced, after the insurrection had taken place, of the utter impracticability of such a revolution, by such instruments, and of the certain destruction of himself and other protestant chiefs, in case of success on the side of the rebels, he would most gladly have renounced all connexion with them; but, as no alternative was allowed, he was obliged to remain among them while they were able to retain the post of Wexford.

Harvey and Grogan suffered execution together on the 28th; Colclough alone in the evening of the same day. Colclough was a man of very amiable character; of a naturally good understanding, enlarged by culture, and of engaging manners. By education and profession a Romanist: he was a protestant in principle.* Influ-

* I mean not to say that he preferred the forms and ceremonies of the protestant to those of the Romish religion, to which he had been habituated. I believe the contrary to have been the case. But he was so far a protestant as to reject all those persecuting doctrines of the Romish church, adverse alike to reason and christianity, which have caused so much bloodshed and calamity among mankind.

I am assured, however, by a protestant gentleman of credit and respectability, that Colclough, who protected him in the rebellion, repeatedly protested to him in the most solemn

enced in his matrimonial speculation solely by the personal merit of the object, he married a lady of a congenial soul, whose endowments of mind and amiable qualities fully justified the wisdom of his choice. So void was he of religious bigotry, that he recommended to his wife not to conform to his mode of worship, since to follow the dictates of her conscience in adhering to the protestant religion (in which she had been educated) would be more pleasing to him. This will be attributed to a deistical indifference in religious matters, by those who allow liberality to deism and deny it to Christian charity, of which I cannot suppose any Romanist of a cultivated and discerning mind to be divested, be the adventitious rules of his religion what they may. Seduced by the like fallacious idea as Harvey, he had embarked on that tempestuous ocean, whence was so seldom permitted a return; and made too late the horrible discovery, that the instruments of political reform were an ungovernable mob of outrageous bigots, among whom none except the instigators of sanguinary violence, could have effective influence.

After his mission to Enniscorthy, already related, in conjunction with Fitzgerald, he went

manner, that if he should survive the then existing troubles, he never would again in the course of his life enter a Romish chapel: so greatly was he shocked by the bigotry of the people.

immediately to his house, and, accompanied by his wife, took the road to Wexford, with intention to re-enter his prison according to his engagement. His detention there not being then thought necessary by the magistrates, he returned to his house, and taking his wife with him in a carriage, was going back to Wexford, as a place of safety under the protection of the king's forces—when he was met on the road by the panic-struck troops of captains Cornock and Snowe, hastening to Duncannon. He was instantly seized as a hostage, at the instigation of the former, and carried with them, in their march, by these terrified men, who declared with oaths that they would shoot him whenever they should be attacked.* How far their fears were vain or well-founded, I cannot ascertain, as the peasants in those parts had not as yet risen in rebellion.† After marching in this manner a considerable way, he was dismissed by the troops; and the insurrection extending to these districts soon after, he was appointed to a command among the rebels.

In the flight of the chiefs from the unbridled host which they had vainly hoped to command,

* I am authorised by Mr. Colclough to say that Mr. Snowe behaved with humanity and politeness.

† On their arrival, however, within a few miles of Duncannon, in a dark night, some rebels (who were only then beginning to rise in these parts) were induced by circumstances to attack the scattered troops, and take about fifty of them prisoners.

he retired with his wife and child to one of the Saltee islands, of which he was landlord, five miles from the coast of the county of Wexford, and chose for his temporary abode a cave, which he furnished with provisions, and where he hoped to remain concealed until the fervour of prosecution should abate. But Harvey, knowing his place of retreat, and wishing to avail himself of the same opportunity of concealment, embarked so incautiously to follow him, as to afford a foundation for conjecture and discovery. He and Harvey surrendered without resistance; though from the nature of the place they might have made for some time a defence.—At his trial and execution he displayed a calm intrepidity of spirit, and a dignity of deportment attempered with mildness, which commanded the admiration and esteem of the spectators; and died so strongly impressed with the horror of atrocities attendant on revolutionary attempts in Ireland, that doubtless, if he had been pardoned, he would have become as loyal a subject as, with exception of his political conduct, he had always been an excellent member of society.

Harvey, Grogan, Keugh, and Perry, were the only protestants put to death as leaders of the Wexfordian rebels. Among the many Romanists who suffered on this accusation, were two priests of totally different characters—Father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, and Father John

Redmond, of Clough. The former, already noticed, had been leader since the first moment of the insurrection in his county, and had alone been considered as such by some thousands of rebels, over whom other chieftains held a nominal authority. He was nominal as well as real chief commander of that great column which made an incursion through the county of Carlow into that of Kilkenny, and caused such devastation in that quarter. In the rout of Kilcomny he disappeared from his followers, who generally imagine him to be still alive. He was, however, apprehended in his flight, and conducted to Tullow, in the county of Carlow; where, being recognized, he was executed by martial law.

Of the rebellious conduct of Redmond, coadjutor to Father Francis Kavenagh, in the parish of Clough, of which I was twenty-three years curate, I can find no other proof than the sentence of the court-martial which consigned him to death. He was accused by the earl of Mountnorris, of having appeared as chief among a party of rebels who committed some depredations at his lordship's house; while he alleged that his object in appearing on the occasion was to endeavour to prevent the plundering of the house, in which he had partly succeeded. Coming into Gorey on a message from the earl, seemingly unapprehensive of danger, and unconscious of guilt, he was treated as if manifestly

guilty before trial, knocked down in the street, and rudely dragged by some yeomen.—I mean not to arraign the justice of the noble lord, his prosecutor, nor the members of the court-martial. The former, who had rendered himself in no small degree responsible for the loyalty of the Wexfordian Romanists, had doubtless good reasons for his conduct; and the latter could have no personal animosity against the accused, nor other unfavourable bias than what naturally arose from the turbid state of affairs, when accusation, especially against a Romish priest, was considered as a strong presumption of guilt. But his protestant neighbours, who had not been able to escape from the rebels, assured me that while the latter were in possession of the country, he was constantly hiding in protestant houses from the rebels, and that many Romanists expressed great resentment against him as a traitor to their cause. That he expected not the rebellion to be successful, appears from this, that when the wife of Nathaniel Stedman (one of my protestant parishioners) applied to him to baptize her child, he told her that he acceded to her request merely lest the child should die unbaptized, in the necessary absence of her minister, on condition that she should promise to make the proper apology for him to me on my return to the parish.

As I understand that the noble earl has not considered my relation of this affair as complete

or satisfactory, I here add a few more circumstances. Father Cavenagh, to whom Redmond was coadjutor, had lived many years in habits of the greatest apparent intimacy with the earl, mostly residing at his lordship's house, and sometimes entertaining him and lady Mountnorris and family at his own. Redmond, being one of the company on these occasions, thought himself extremely honoured, and in some degree idolized the earl, who was regarded by the catholics as their most zealous friend. Transported with zeal for his noble patron, when he heard that a mob had gone to his lordship's house in quest of liquors, he ran to prevail on them to spare all except the small beer. Father Cavenagh told me that on the suppression of the rebels, the earl called at his house in a friendly manner, requesting that Redmond should go to him to Gorey for a protection. What protection he received has been already related. No act could be more popular among protestants, at that time, than the hanging of a priest; yet many protestants would have come to bear witness in his favour, if they had been allowed time, and *an assurance of personal safety*. The popularity, however, of his lordship with the common people of the catholics is so indeliably impressed, that they cannot believe to this day, that he had any concern in this business; but endeavoured with all his power to save the priest. I knew

Redmond many years, and always thought him a remarkably timid and innocent man. Mr. Townsend, a lawyer, well acquainted with affairs of that nature, says, " Martial law would have no terrors, if it were not liable to take the worst mode of detecting guilt, and of protecting innocence."

Among the Romanist leaders of rebellion, executed at the time of its suppression, at Wexford, was Kelly, of Kill-ann, already mentioned as conductor of that column which entered the town of Ross. This young man was worthy of a far better cause and better associates—his courage and humanity being equal and conspicuous. But the display of humanity by a rebel, was in general, in the trials by court-martial, by no means regarded as a circumstance in favour of the accused: strange as it may seem in times of cool reflection, it was very frequently urged as a proof of guilt. Whoever could be proved to have saved a loyalist from assassination, his house from burning, or his property from plunder—was considered as having influence among the rebels, consequently a rebel commander.* This has been by some supposed to

* A mention of the notoriety of this practice drew unreflectingly the following extraordinary exclamation from a Roman catholic gentleman who had been one of the rebels: " I thank my God that no person can prove me guilty of saving the life or property of any one !"

have arisen from a policy in government to discourage all ideas of humanity in rebels, that in case of another insurrection, they might be so completely sanguinary as to render themselves and their cause as odious as possible, and consequently unsupported. For my part, I cannot easily believe the members of administration capable of so cruel a policy; and even if private instructions for this mode of proceeding had been given to the officers of the army, I should be a little surprised that yeoman officers should implicitly adopt it, if they expected another insurrection, as in that event their families or friends might be the victims. In fact, it seems to have arisen from a rage of prosecution, by which the crime of rebellion was regarded as too great to admit any circumstances of extenuation in favour of the person guilty of it, and by which every mode of conviction against such a person was deemed justifiable.

A mode of proceeding against imputed rebels, more summary still than that of trials by court-martial, was practised from the commencement of the rebellion by soldiers, yeomen, and supplementaries, who frequently executed without any trial, such as they judged worthy of death, even persons found unarmed in their own houses. This practice of the soldiery and yeomen, which, conducted with too little discrimination of guilt and innocence, denied safety at home to the

peaceably inclined, augmented for a time the numbers of the rebels, and would, on their dispersion, have in great measure depopulated the country, if it had not been restrained by the just policy of government, on the appointment of the marquis Cornwallis, in place of lord Camden, to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.

That a viceroy of military talents, of political knowledge and activity, had not been sent sooner to this kingdom, where a widely extended insurrection had been so long known to have been planned, seems to argue a defect of wisdom, at least of precaution, in the British cabinet. Probably the members of that cabinet were little aware of the dangerous force of the Irish peasantry, when armed and brought into action. But if Newtownbarry, Ross, and Arklow, had fallen into the hands of the Wexfordian insurgents; if these insurgents had not committed massacres and devastations; if they had not given their warfare the complexion of bigotry and religious murder; if they had not procrastinated; and if troops from France with arms and ammunition had landed to their assistance—the British ministry might have had lamentable cause of repentance for their neglect of Ireland! As if to make atonement for past inattention, a man the most fit of all the class of nobility, was at length appointed to this most important office—the marquis Cornwallis; who had emi-

nently displayed the talents of a general and statesman, not less when inevitably conquered in America, than when victorious in the east. The earlier appointment of such a viceroy might have prevented rebellion, and consequently the loss of thousands of lives and of immense property to the kingdom. His activity and wisdom, in the discharge of his high function, soon exhibited a new phenomenon in a country where the vicerealty had been generally a sinecure, and the viceroy a pageant of state.

On the 20th of June, lord Cornwallis made his important and very modest entrance into the capital; and soon after lord Camden made his pompous exit from the kingdom with triumphal parade.—In a few days a proclamation was issued, and on the 3d of July inserted in the Dublin Gazette, authorizing his majesty's generals to give protection to such insurgents as, being simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance to the king. How necessary was at that time such a step, could be a question of no difficulty to those who, viewing dispassionately the state of affairs, considered what numbers had been seduced into the conspiracy by artifice, and forced into rebellion by unfortunate circumstances. To give the full sanction of law to this necessary measure, a message was delivered from his excellency to the

house of commons on the 17th of July, signifying his majesty's pleasure to that effect; and an act of amnesty was accordingly passed in favour of all engaged in the rebellion, who had not been leaders—who had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle—and who should comply with the conditions mentioned above.

Whence originated, or by whom was planned or proposed what seems a kind of treaty between government and the chiefs of the United Irish, I am not authorized explicitly to say;* but an agreement was made, that the latter, without being obliged to implicate any person, should give all the information in their power concerning the internal transactions and foreign negotiations of the society; and that they in return (including Oliver Bond, then under sentence of death, and others who might choose to take the benefit of the treaty) should be pardoned as to life, but be obliged to depart out of Ireland. The following, dated the 29th of July, 1798, and signed by seventy-three persons, have been given as the terms of the contract:—"That the
" undersigned state prisoners in the three prisons
" of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell,
" engage to give every information in their

* The application is said to have been made through counsellor Dobbs, a member of the house of commons, by some chiefs of the conspiracy.

“ power of the whole of the internal transac-
“ tions of the United Irishmen; and that each
“ of the prisoners shall give detailed information
“ of every transaction that has passed between
“ the United Irishmen and foreign states; but
“ that the prisoners are not, by naming or
“ describing, to implicate any person whatever;
“ and that they are ready to emigrate to such
“ country as shall be agreed on between them
“ and government, and give security not to
“ return to this country without the permission
“ of government, and not pass into an enemy’s
“ country;—if, on so doing, they are to be freed
“ from prosecution: and also Mr. Oliver Bond
“ be permitted to take the benefit of this pro-
“ posal. The state prisoners also hope that the
“ benefit of this proposal may be extended to
“ such persons in custody, or not in custody,
“ as may choose to benefit by it.” In conse-
quence of this agreement, some rebel chiefs,
who hitherto had remained in arms, among whom
was Aylmer, surrendered their persons. Six
principals of the union, particularly Arthur
O’Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, Dr. M’Nevin,
and Samuel Neilson, gave details on oath, in
their examinations before the secret committees
of the two houses of parliament, in whose reports,
published by authority of government, is con-
tained a mass of information concerning the
conspiracy.

Whatever were the original terms of the contract, and by whatever subsequent events the contractors were influenced or affected, the principal prisoners (fifteen in number) were not liberated, and a power was reserved by ministers to detain them in custody, at least during the continuance of the war with France. Doubtless for this the members of administration had substantial reasons, of which they might think the publication improper. In all probability Oliver Bond would have been one of the number thus reserved for long confinement, if he had not been liberated by death—an apoplexy putting an end to his life suddenly in prison.

In a pamphlet styled a Letter from Arthur O'Connor to lord Castlereagh, dated from prison, January the 4th, 1799, that minister is directly charged with a violation of the contract, and a misrepresentation to parliament of the transactions between him and the prisoners of state. Other charges are made, one of which is that the information given by these prisoners to government, was garbled to serve the purposes of the ministry, and particularly, that of a hundred pages, delivered by O'Connor himself, only one has been published in the reports of the secret committees. Since to this pamphlet, in which his lordship is peremptorily challenged to disprove any of the charges therein made, no reply has appeared, we have only the honour and inte-

grity of his lordship and others for a disproof of these accusations, which may be a vindication to persons acquainted with his lordship's character. The pamphlet was said to have been suppressed by government, at least was not otherwise than clandestinely sold and circulated. The author expressly clears the lord lieutenant of all blame in these transactions. The honour of the marquis Cornwallis remains unimpeached even by the boldest of all the chiefs of the conspiracy.

Whether the negociation between government and the principal conspirators had any connexion with, or influence on the bill of amnesty, ministers alone can answer, and the secrets of administration are not lightly to be divulged. The affirmative seems to be insinuated in the above-mentioned pamphlet, and an opinion of that nature to have been, at the time of the bargain, propagated among people connected with the insurgents, who spoke of some agreement as of a treaty of peace. But the expediency of putting a stop to a career of slaughter, a continuation of which must have depopulated the country, ought to be sufficient in itself to account for a limited pardon to prostrate rebels. By the necessary exception of certain crimes, a field wide enough lay open still for the punishment of insurrection. Great numbers, in the course of prosecution, suffered, many deservedly, and some

on such evidence as would not be admitted in times of calm investigation. To prevent the evil consequences of any precipitancy of judgment, which might too easily happen in trials by court-martial, orders were after some time issued, that execution should not follow the trial till after the transmission of the minutes to the seat of government, and their inspection by the viceroy.

Assassinations, from religious or political motives, would probably have ceased, soon after the granting of protections, if some desperate rebels, reinforced by deserters from some regiments of Irish militia, had not remained in arms in the mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods of Killaughrim, near Enniscorthy. Desertions from these regiments, composed mostly of Romanists, were much apprehended by some in the time of the rebellion; but providentially here, as in other instances, the event was too late for the service of the rebel cause. A very few had deserted to the insurgents while they were in force, and these few seemed not well to relish the change from a regular army to a disorderly multitude. Yet, from some strange movement of the mind, after the rebellion was completely quelled, and only a few desperadoes, probably not above three hundred in all, remained in arms, in the two devious retreats above-mentioned, many soldiers, particularly of

the Antrim and King's County regiments, fled from their posts to these desperadoes, with whom they could rationally expect no better fortune than a very short life of hardship and rapine, ended by the execution of the gun or the halter. So great, however, was the terror of this banditti, in the vicinity of their lurking places, that those protestants who had remained in the country in the time of the rebellion, now found themselves under the necessity of taking refuge in towns. But, after a little time, the woods of Killaughrim, scoured by the army, were cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrously styled themselves *Babes of the Wood*, and tranquillity was in that quarter restored to the country.

The party in the Wicklow mountains, whose range was much more extensive, and haunts much more difficult of access, continued under two chiefs of the names of Holt and Hacket, to annoy the country for a longer time, and in a more formidable degree; issuing suddenly from their fastness to perpetrate burnings and massacres, and retiring before troops could arrive to intercept them.

As the massacres were found to be committed entirely from a spirit of religious hatred, and as the real perpetrators could not be brought to justice, a mode was adopted, which necessity alone could justify; but it proved effectual. Where any protestants were murdered by these

banditti or their confederates, a greater number of Romanists were put to death in the same neighbourhood by the yeomen. Thus at Castle-town four miles from Gorey, where four protestants were massacred in the night by Hacket, seven Romanists were slain in revenge; and at Aughrim in the county of Wicklow, ten miles from the same town, twenty-seven of the latter were killed in consequence of murders committed on the former. Harassed incessantly by the pursuits of yeomen and soldiery, while the dreary mountains in the winter season afforded no shelter, the numbers of the banditti daily diminished: Hacket was killed by capt. Atkins near Arklow, a brave young man, who had been a yeoman officer, in defence of his house;—Holt surrendered for transportation to the earl of Powerscourt; and these bands of robbers at length totally disappeared.

The burnings and plunderings, committed by these desperadoes, augmented in some degree the desolation caused in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, and the neighbouring parts, by the ravages of rebellion. Such was the desolation that, together with a multitude of cabins, farm-houses, and gentlemen's seats in the open country, the towns of Carnew, Tinnehely, Hacketstown, Donard, Blesington, and Killedmond, were destroyed by fire; beside partial destructions in other towns, as Ross, where above three

hundred houses, mostly cabins, were consumed; and Enniscorthy, much the greater part of which was ruined. Where a town remained any time in possession of the rebels, what houses escaped the flames were in general so damaged as to be reduced barely to the walls and roof; the door-cases, window-cases, bases, and sur-bases of the chambers and chimney pieces being destroyed, and the furniture broken, burned, or carried away. Most of the devastations by fire, perpetrated in the county of Wicklow, and the adjoining districts, had place after the cause of the rebels was become desperate, after they had been dislodged from all their posts in the county of Wexford, and obliged to take refuge in the desert mountains: whence we may infer that the object of these rebels, when their hopes of revolution were frustrated, was to render the country of as little value as possible to their opponents.

The devastation and plundering sustained by the loyalists was not the work of the rebels alone. Great part of the damage was committed by the soldiery, who commonly completed the ruin of deserted houses, in which they had their quarters, and often plundered without distinction of loyalist and croppy.* The Hessians exceeded

* I mean not to throw blame on any who unpremeditatedly, and without neglect of their duty, shared the plunder of houses of reputed rebels consigned to military depredation. Thus,

the other troops in the business of depredation; and many loyalists who had escaped from the rebels, were put to death by these foreigners.—To send such troops into the country in such a state of affairs, was, in my humble opinion, a wrong step in government, who cannot be supposed indifferent to the lives of loyal subjects. By what influence the plundering was permitted so long to the soldiery, in some parts of the country, after the rebellion was quelled, I shall not at present pretend to state. The publication of some facts, of which I have acquired information, may not perhaps be as yet safe.—On the arrival of the marquis of Huntley, however, with his regiment of Scottish Highlanders, in Gorey, the scene was totally altered. To the immortal honour of this regiment, its behaviour was such as, if it were universal among soldiers, would render a military government amiable. To the astonishment of the (until then miserably harassed) peasantry, not the smallest trifle, even a drink of butter-milk, would any of these Highlanders accept, without the payment of at

doubtless, lord Kingsborough thought his conduct blameless, when he went the day after his liberation from Wexford, to Mr. Cornelius Grogan's house, and took out of the stable two coach-horses to sell. But if we should find the attention of any general officer so absorbed in a system of plunder, as to leave him no leisure for fighting, perhaps we might think him not entirely blameless.

least the full value. General Skerrett, colonel of the Durham fensible infantry, who succeeded the generous marquis in the command of that post, observed so strict a discipline, that nothing more was heard of military depredation.

But, though by the conduct naturally expected in general officers, the royal troops assumed their proper place, in becoming the protectors, instead of pillagers, of the people, the country was miserably afflicted all the ensuing winter by gangs of nocturnal marauders, as is generally the case after the commotions of civil warfare. These appear to have consisted solely at first of the lower classes of loyalists, some of whom might think, or pretend to think, that they were making reprisals from those who had plundered them or their friends in the rebellion. But a system of unlawful violence, if not speedily coerced, will be carried to excesses which admit no excuse or palliation. Should we suppose that none except persons guilty of rebellion and pillage were the subjects of plunder to these marauders, yet the loyalist landlords and creditors of these ruined people must also be sufferers. But by whatever pretences they might endeavour to impose even on their own consciences, lucre was their object, without regard to the guilt or innocence of the persons who were the subjects of their depredation.

With these erroneously termed loyalist robbers, in a little time some croppies were admitted to associate, and the latter sometimes formed separate parties; but the Romanists alone were the subjects of pillage, because these, being disarmed at the quelling of the insurrection, were incapable of defending their houses; while to attack protestants, who were every where furnished with arms, appeared too dangerous to these adventurers. The wretched sufferers were not only destitute of the means of resistance, but even of the sad consolation of complaint; threatened with death and the burning of their houses, if they should dare to give information of the robbery. Many houses, in fact, were fired in the course of this melancholy winter, the inhabitants hardly escaping from the flames, and the cattle sometimes consumed alive in the conflagration. How some survived the hardships of this dreary season, who were deprived of their provisions, beds, bed-clothes, and nearly of their wearing apparel, in the midst of deep snow and severe frost, seems not easily accountable. The magnitude of the evil, which tended to desolate the country, and which is suspected to have been most unwisely encouraged by the connivance of some yeoman officers, roused at last the attention of some public-spirited gentlemen, by whose exertions these violences were by

degrees restrained, but not completely suppressed.* One species of mischief was, the burning of Romish chapels in the night, of which hardly one escaped in the extent of several miles around Gorey. This, though it evinced a puerile spirit of religious antipathy, little honourable to any description of people, was of a nature far less cruel. I have heard Roman catholic gentlemen say, that the burning of one poor cabin must cause more actual misery than that of hundreds of chapels.

To form a probable estimate of the detriment sustained by the country, in consequence of the united conspiracy, would be doubtless a matter of considerable difficulty. Some idea of it may be conceived from the claims of compensation for their losses made on government by suffering loyalists, according to an act of parliament, which marks very strongly the amiable nature, of the political constitution which the British islands enjoy. Soon after the commencement of the insurrection, and the flight of many loyalists to the metropolis, and other places, for safety, the sum of a hundred thousand pounds was voted by the house of commons, for the

* The most successful exertions for the peace of the country were made by Hawtry White, Esq. captain of the Ballaghkeen cavalry. This gentleman had acquired the earliest intelligence of an intended rebellion in the county of Wexford, and was extremely active in attempts to prevent and suppress it, without any act of unnecessary violence or cruelty.

immediate relief of such among them as should appear destitute of the means of subsistence; and for the distribution of this money, a most respectable body of commissioners was appointed, who gave to the claimants, according as the circumstances of their several cases appeared to require, sums not exceeding fifty pounds. The claimants were so numerous that the sum of ten thousand pounds, which was at first delivered, soon fell short of the purpose; but the deficiency was from the same fountain supplied, and relief was refused to none who appeared proper objects.

Government confined not its views to the immediate or temporary relief of the suffering loyalists. In a message delivered by Lord Castlereagh, to the house of commons, from the lord lieutenant on the 17th of July, the compensation of their losses was recommended by his majesty. The sufferers were directed to send authenticated estimates of their losses to the commissioners, and provision was afterwards made by act of parliament for the compensation of these losses, altogether, or in part, according to circumstances. The authentication required was the affidavit of the claimant, together with affidavits of the minister of the parish and the claimant's landlord, or the landlord's agent, declaring their sincere belief of the claimant's loyalty and of the truth of his estimate. As these authenticated affidavits of the clergy were indispensably

required to be all in their own hand-writing, while those of the landlords or agents might be written by any person, the gratuitous labour consigned to the parish ministers was great, in some cases enormous. Sometimes a clergyman, in the absence of others, was obliged to act for more parishes than one, while business was multiplied by various causes. Frequently different sons and daughters of the same man, though unmarried, and constituting part of his household, made separate claims, beside that of the father. Frequently four affidavits were demanded for one claimant, for subsistence, his house, his instruments of agriculture, and his general losses.

If any informality was found in the estimates, (which from the hurry of the persons paid to draw them, often happened) the three latter affidavits must be made again a second, or perhaps a third time; so that ten affidavits were sometimes made by a clergyman for one person.

The number of claimants whose affidavits were sent to the commissioners before the 10th of April, 1799, from the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, Wexford, and Kilkenny, was three thousand, seven hundred and ninety-seven; and the estimates which they made of their losses amounted in all to the sum of five hundred and sixty one thousand two hundred and thirteen pounds. Of these claimants the county of Wexford furnished two thousand one hundred

and thirty-seven; the estimates of whose losses amounted to almost three hundred and seven thousand pounds. The claims of some, I believe, greatly exceeded their losses; and, some who acquired by plunder perhaps more than they had lost, made large demands of compensation. To the latter circumstance the commissioners seem not to have sufficiently attended at first, though they have afterwards considered it.* On the other hand, a few were so modest as not to claim half the compensation which they might have claimed with truth; and in general the estimates were so moderate, that the sum total of them, in my opinion, bore to that of the losses no greater proportion, than that of two to three. Many claims were sent from other counties; and, since the 10th of April, 1799, a number also from the four counties above mentioned. The sum total amounted to a million and twenty-three thousand pounds; of which more than the half, or five hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, was claimed by the county of Wexford: but who will pretend to compute the damages of the

* In my opinion also a great distinction ought to have been made between those who had fought and bled in the defence of government, and those who (declining to give any other kind of assistance than to denominate all persons jacobins, except the unqualified flatterers of administration) fled to England before the rebellion, and left those *jacobins* the task of fighting for *their* properties, and the support of government.

croppies, whose houses were burned, or effects pillaged or destroyed, and who, barred from compensation, sent no estimates to the commissioners? Perhaps if the whole amount of the detriment sustained by this unfortunate island, in consequence of the united conspiracy, were conjectured at two millions, a sum of such magnitude might not exceed, or even equal the reality.

But the destruction of property was not the only species of damage resulting to the community from this ill-fated combination. To this may be added the loss of lives, the neglect of industry by an idle turn acquired by the minds of men from warfare or the preparations for it, the obstruction of commerce, the interruption of credit in pecuniary transactions, and the depravation of morals in those places which were the seats of civil violence.—Perhaps to take a short retrospective glance of the political transactions of Ireland in the period concerning which I have written, with a few observations and reflections, may not be improper in this place.

From the forgoing part of this work it may be understood, that of those who formed plans in opposition to ministry, for what they either actually believed or pretended to believe, a melioration of the body politic of Ireland, some were merely reformists, others revolutionists. To reform the mode of election, and consequently the consti-

tution, of the house of commons was the aim of the former ;—to annihilate the existing government, and erect an entirely new one in its place, unconnected with the state of Britain, that of the latter; who generally endeavoured to conceal their designs from others. In my opinion the sort of reform which they should have recommended would be, to allow none to vote in elections except men possessed of about a hundred pounds a-year at least, of clear income from land, or some equivalent; for the votes of the multitudes of poor freeholders are virtually the votes of only a few individuals—two or three persons of great estates commonly disposing of the places in parliament for a county; while the sufferages of gentlemen of small property are lost in the ocean of nominal voters, whose attendance on elections is commonly a disagreeable piece of service, from which they would be very glad to be excused. The mode proposed by the society of United Irish, mentioned in the beginning of this book, to admit all adult males, without regard to property, to vote in the elections for members of parliament, was evidently a revolutionary plan, which, if adopted, would in all probability have involved, as an immediate consequence, commotions more bloody than those of France; or if it could have been established, must have thrown the government of the nation

virtually into the hands of a few ambitious men, some perhaps of its worst members.

Catholic emancipation was an immediate object with both reformers and revolutionists, as a necessary step; since without the united support of the people collectively, they could have no reasonable hopes of success in their schemes in opposition to the ministry. As to unite with the Romanists, and thereby to bring a vast accession to the weight of the people in the political scale, was a primary part in the plan of oppositionists, who hoped to have the management of the popular influence; so, on the other hand, to create disunion in the national system, and thereby to break its force, is believed to have been an object with ministry; and some steps of that tendency appear to have been taken. These I believe to have been superfluous. The discordance of the parties was too great ever to admit any solid or permanent coalition. Whatever specious junction might be formed of the religious sects, deep distrust would lie beneath, and explode on the first grand commotion. Nor was the conduct of the Romanists, by their separate and secret consultations, the publications of some of their clergy, and the spirit of religious hostility betrayed by many of the lower classes, adapted to gain the confidence of the protestants, or induce them to expect a cordial or sincere coalition. Of this inveterate discordance the chiefs

of the conspiracy seemed to be sensible, when, after the failure of the plan of insurrection in Ulster in the year 1797, they appear to have placed their dependance on the Romanists almost alone as the instruments of revolution, since among the means adopted to seduce them into the conspiracy, some, though probably the most cogent, were certainly the most adverse to the union of sects, and tended to exclude the protestants from the association—I mean the inflaming of religious hatred, and the terrors industriously propagated of the intended massacres of Romanists by Orangemen. If the protestant chiefs of the conspiracy hoped that, after the excitement of the Romanists to insurrection by such means, they should be able to controul and direct their operations, they were, I believe, most egregiously mistaken, and would have found themselves inextricably entrapped in their own snares.

Previously to this, division had taken place among the reformists. Some, irritated at what they regarded as the obstinacy of administration, who rejected all projects of reform, coalesced with the United Irish; while others, justly alarmed at the menacing prospects of affairs, relinquished for the present all schemes of reform, and joined their efforts with those of government for the preservation of the state. The secession of these members caused the dissolution of the Whig Club, which had subsisted till near the close of

the year 1796. In a letter, dated the 29th of Nov. that year, directed to the right hon. Henry Grattan, as temporary chairman of the club, and afterwards published in the newspapers, Richard Griffith, Esq. of Mellicent, in the county of Kildare, who had been one of its most respectable members—a man of great fortune, and of a highly estimable character, for integrity and abilities both in writing and speaking—requested his name to be expunged from the list, since, when the constitution was attacked by revolutionists at home, and enemies abroad, he thought the nation in too feverish a state for the agitation of the question of reform.

A sense of the public danger, which caused the desertion of the popular party by this gentleman and some others, caused also the adoption of a coercive system by the ministry. That some scheme of coercion was indispensably necessary, for the preservation of the existing government, cannot I think, be doubted by any person. But whether the plan of coercion digested by the ministry was in all respects judicious; and whether, if it were judiciously framed, it was executed according to the ideas of the framers; are questions whose discussion I defer to another time. To charge to the account of administration the outrages committed on loyal or peaceable subjects by men who, under the mask of zeal for the royal service, took the opportunity

afforded by the temporary suspension of legal government, to indulge with impunity the malignant disposition of their hearts, would be highly unjust. For when, by the formidable machinations of the conspirators, government was once driven to the lamentable necessity of such a plan of counteraction as involved in it an interruption of the ordinary course of justice, and the arming of those who pretended to be friends of Government with a kind of discretionary power, (what sort of friends some were, I have already hinted) to regulate the conduct of these, or to determine how far the outrages committed by some of them were the effects of private malice, general malevolence, or unaffected zeal in a weak and ignorant mind, was utterly impossible for ministers, remote as they were from the scenes of action.

Instances of useless outrages were innumerable, yet some for elucidation ought to be given. A protestant clergyman passing through a place near Newtownbarry, on the twenty-fifth of May, saw a multitude of women and children supplicating on their knees an officer of the North-Cork, for permission to save some of their effects out of their cabins which were set on fire. This was brutally refused, and the clergyman who wished to intercede, found a hasty retreat necessary for the safety of his person from the officer and his men. In the battle of Enniscorthy, three days after, this gallant officer could no

where be found, while the clergyman performed the parts of both a steady officer and an intrepid soldier. This officer, like many others, committed this act without authority from a superior, or information received by himself. Such were matters of amusement to too many.*

Why a military chief governor of well known abilities and judgment, when a military government was an inevitable expedient, was not appointed by the British ministry, I cannot pretend to know. Such a man would have arranged the army to the best advantage for the protection of the innocent, the coercion of the

* The following is an extract of a letter which I received from a brave officer, who acted a worthy part throughout the rebellion.—“It is a painful recollection that the records of past ages will not influence the transactions of the present generation. The ultimatums of all rebellions have enabled us to ascertain the violent methods by which the conduct of the actors has been influenced. Private piques have been revenged, party distinctions have raged with uncontrolled fury, and yet more dreadful than all, the devil gets his opportunity of swaying the minds of his *friends*, and gives them permission to perform acts worthy of his hellish machinations.” I believe that this brave man’s mind was impressed, while he wrote, beside other horrors, with that of a flogging, given by order of Lord Kingsborough, to two men on suspicion of their being rebels, on what grounds, none except his lordship knew. While the drummers were cutting the backs of these miserable men, his lordship was employed in throwing salt into the cuts; nor were their wounds allowed to be dressed for twenty-four hours, notwithstanding the pressing remonstrances of the surgeon,

guilty, and consequently the prevention of armed rebellion, with its horrible concatenation of evils. Of the erroneous equipment of the yeoman force I have already spoken; also of the smallness of the body of soldiery sent for the protection of the county of Wexford. Concerning the experience and discipline of the commander of this body, I choose to be silent. If by the assurances of the earl of Mountnorris, contrary to the report of its magistrates, government had such reliance on the loyalty of this county, as to think any considerable force unnecessary for the conservation of its peace, why was the system of terror extended to it, when that, in such a case, would be also unnecessary? Coercion properly attempered and supported may prevent rebellion, where every arrangement is made for its eruption; otherwise it may cause rebellion where none is intended. Some counties more organised than that of Wexford remained in quiet, while civil commotion was raging elsewhere with its woful concomitants.

That, when once insurrection took place, it was attended with devastation and massacre, was naturally to be expected from the previous exasperation of men's minds, and the deep-smothered sense of severities, inflicted on some by authority, and in that case often justly; but on many others wantonly, by individuals vested with no other authority than what the affectation

of a violent zeal confers on the most worthless in such a state of affairs. If I were asked, whether I thought that the rebellion would have been less bloody, if no unnecessary or wanton cruelties had been previously practised, I should answer, that if it had taken place under such circumstances, I should suppose it would have been attended with much less cruelty in its commencement; but that in case of continued success on the side of the insurgents, and confidence of being finally victorious, it would in its progress have become completely sanguinary and cruel, from causes operating in all successful insurrections of the populace, combined with nefarious prejudices of religion, diametrically opposite to the genuine spirit of Christianity. Desinging villians, by the affectation of a flaming zeal for their cause and religion, would raise themselves into the notice and estimation of the ignorant multitude; and having no other means of self-promotion, would indulge at once their ambition and malignity, by instigating the rabble to acts of atrocity against all whom they should think fit to denounce as concealed enemies, or obstacles, to the grand scheme of revolution. Thus would the protestant leaders, and protestants in general, have been first put to death; next after these, any Roman catholic chiefs of moderation and spirit who might vainly endeavour to promote a liberal plan of revolution; and afterwards all

others who should prove obnoxious to the reigning demagogues. In the local, and short-lived insurrection in the county of Wexford, this tendency of affairs was so evident to Bagenal Harvey, and other protestant leaders, that they considered their doom as inevitable, and even some Romish commanders expressed apprehensions. Thus Esmond Kyan, one of the most brave and generous among them, declared to Richard Dowse, a protestant gentleman of the county of Wicklow, whom he had rescued from assassins, that his own life was irredeemably forfeited; for if the rebellion should succeed, his own party would murder him, and if it should not succeed, his fate must be death by martial law; which happened according to his prediction. Even Philip Roche, whose character, as a priest, might be supposed to insure his safety with his own followers, made a similar declaration to Walter Greene, a protestant gentleman of the county of Wexford, whose life he had protected.

To suppose that the insurgents were all alike sanguinary or prone to cruel deeds, would be as little conformable to truth as to probability. Many of even the lowest were men of humanity; but amid so wild an agitation, so furious a commotion, the modest and feeble voice of compassion was drowned by the loud and arrogant clamour of destruction to enemies! *revenge on the bloody orange dogs!* Among the loyalists, whoever

attempted to moderate the fury of his associates, or prevent the commission of wanton cruelties on defenceless prisoners, or other helpless objects, was generally browbeaten and silenced by the cry of *croppy*—a term very liberally bestowed by zealots, on men who manifested a wish that loyalists should act in a manner most honourable to themselves, and most promising of ultimate success to their cause. Even some officers of the army, who reprobated in their hearts unnecessary insults on defenceless objects, were shy to restrain the serjeants, and others under their command, from the commission of such, lest they should be charged with *croppyism*. When this was the case under a regular government and established military discipline, what was to be expected from tumultuary bands of ignorant peasantry, suddenly starting into action without order or subordination? Among these the charge of *orangeism* was much more formidable than that of *croppyism* among the loyalists, since in the former case it might be much more easily followed by tumultuary assassination, where no controlling power existed to repress acts of violence, particularly such as would seem to result from zeal for the cause.*

* The author of a Narrative of transactions at Killala, while the French were in that part of the country, writes very justly, that “in popular commotions it has generally been observed, that natural talents go but a little way to procure influence ;

I sincerely believe the Irish to be naturally as compassionate as any other people; but ignorance and bigotry debase as yet the minds of the great majority in the south and west. Many instances might be given of men, who at the hazard of their own lives, concealed and maintained loyalists until the storm passed away. On the other hand, many might be given of cruelties committed by persons not natives of Ireland. I shall mention only one act, not of what I shall call cruelty, since no pain was inflicted, but ferocity, not calculated to soften the rancour of the insurgents: Some soldiers of the Ancient British regiment cut open the dead body of Father Michael Murphy, after the battle of Arklow, took out his heart, roasted the body, and oiled their boots with the grease which dripped from it! * From the facts related in foregoing

“ the leader of a mob is almost invariably the man that outgoes
“ all the rest in wickedness and audacity.” Page 77.

* Mr. George Taylor, in his Historical Account of the Wexfordian Rebellion (page 136) says, “ lord Mountnorris, “ and some of his troop, in viewing the scene of action, found “ the body of the perfidious priest Murphy, who so much “ deceived him and the country. Being exasperated, his “ lordship ordered the head to be struck off, and his body to “ be thrown into a house that was burning, exclaiming, *let “ his body go where his soul is!*” This, I believe, happened, as his lordship was eager to demonstrate his loyalty; but others also were concerned. Some Ancient Britons boasted of the above mentioned act, and many witnesses were present.

parts of this volume, I can hardly be charged with the futile design of an exculpation of the rebels with respect to cruelty; nor am I afraid of an accusation of partiality to my countrymen. Though by birth an Irishman, I am wholly British by descent; and, my opinion is, that an historian ought not to suffer himself to be biassed in his writings, however he may in his feelings, by any kind of partiality. My natural bias would be to the side of protestantism and loyalty; but I should be unworthy of the office of an historical writer, if I should thus be drawn from the line of truth.

In one point, I think we must allow some praise to the rebels. Amid all their atrocities, the chastity of the fair sex was respected. I have not been able to ascertain one instance to the contrary in the county of Wexford, though

while the body lay burning on a beam of timber. Sir Watkin Wynn, colonel of the Ancient Britons, has asserted, that not a man of his regiment ever touched the remains of Father Murphy. This he could not possibly know unless he had personally watched the body during sixteen hours. Sir Richard Musgrave says, that five officers of the Cavan militia will make oath that not an officer, or soldier of the Ancient Britons, was within a mile of the body while it was burned. Yet the body lay within a quarter of a mile of Arklow, where at least a part of the Ancient Britons were certainly in garrison with other troops. Captain Holmes, of the Durham regiment, told me in the presence of several persons, that he himself had assisted in cutting open the breast with an axe, and pulling out the heart. Full proof of the whole will be given in my Supplement.

many beautiful young women were absolutely in their power. One consideration may diminish the wonder, but not annihilate the merit of this conduct in the rebels: they were every where accompanied by great numbers of women of their own party, who, in the general dissolution of regular government, and the joy of imagined victory, were perhaps less scrupulous than at other times of their favours. The want of such an accompaniment to the royal troops may in some degree account for an opposite behaviour in them to the female peasantry, on their entering into possession of the country, at the retreat of the rebels, many of whose female relatives, promiscuously with others, suffered in respect of chastity, some also with respect to health, by their constrained acquaintance with the soldiery.

Whoever denies that the rebellion, from its first eruption, was made a religious war by the lower classes in the south of Ireland, may as well deny the existence of any rebellion at all—the evidence of facts being as clear in the one as in the other case. But since many persons, even citizens of Dublin, who were so near the scene of action, could not believe that a rebellion originating from a conspiracy of different sects, under a most solemn renunciation of all religious discord, could, in times when sentiments of a liberal nature prevail in general throughout Europe, become at its rise a war of religion, I

have added a short appendix in proof* of this point, and as an illustration of the atrocious practices of that calamitous period. — Of ten protestant clergymen who fell into the hands of the insurgents in the county of Wexford, five were put to death without mercy or hesitation—Robert Burrowes, Francis Turner, Samuel Heydon,* John Pentland, and Thomas Trocke—all men of regular conduct, and quite inoffensive. Joshua Nunn, rector of Enniscorthy, was preserved under the protection of Father Sutton of Enniscorthy. Roger Owen, rector of Camolin, escaped by feigning to be deranged in his understanding. This clergyman has given, since the rebellion, full proof of a genuine spirit of Christian charity, of which I had before believed him possessed. Though treated with such cruelty by the rebels, that he could hardly be expected to survive his hardships, he has endeavoured since, as far as in his power, to mitigate the rage of the lower classes of protestants, who have been too apt to regard all Romanists in the same light. John Elgee, rector of Wexford, was with difficulty saved from death by the gratitude of some of the lowest peasants, for his humanity to prisoners in the goal of that town. Henry Wilson, incumbent of Mulranken, was with

* The body of Mr. Heydon, who had been greatly beloved for his humane and amiable conduct, was left in the street of Enniscorthy till it was in great part devoured by swine.

peculiarly good fortune preserved by the timely interposition of Bagenal Harvey. I have already mentioned the fate of Mr. Francis, of Killegny.

—The rest of the Wexfordian clergy escaped to different places, particularly nine of them, with many other fugitives, to Wales, where, at Haverfordwest, they were generously relieved by the inhabitants, and by money remitted to them by the humane attention of Dr. Cleaver, bishop of Ferns.

That protestants also acted with religious bigotry, may be urged in opposition to what is asserted concerning that of the Romanists. Many of the lower classes of protestants, previously to the rebellion, possessed of an opinion that they were destined to destruction by the Romanists, whenever the latter should rise in force, acted on that presumption, grievously insulted many Romanists who had not shewn any sign of hostility, accused the whole sect indiscriminately of a murderous conspiracy, and thus made it on their part a religious quarrel. Very sorry am I to have to say, that in the rebellion, and after its suppression, many acts of cruelty were committed by protestants on their Romanist countrymen, with little attention to personal guilt or innocence. After all, however, their animosity was rather of a political than religious nature, directed against a description of men, whom they regarded as their irreclaimable enemies.

watching for means to extirpate them from society. No such opinion is entertained even by the lowest protestants, that all beyond the pale of their own church are so accursed, such objects of divine wrath, that to kill them is meritorious. They forced not Romanists, whose lives were in their power, to conform to the established church; while, on the other hand, baptism by a Roman catholic priest, and conformity to the Romish worship, were in general indispensably necessary steps for the preservation of the lives of protestants in the hands of the Wexfordian insurgents.

Women and children were not put to death by the insurgents, except in the tumultuary and hasty massacre at Scullabogue; but how far they would have been spared, in case of ultimate success, notwithstanding their baptism, is a matter of some doubt. That in this case the protestant men, baptized by the priests, would have suffered as insincere converts, is too probable. This horrible spirit of bigotry I conceive to have been possessed only by the vulgar, and a very few persons in the rank of gentry. Much has been said against the Romanist clergy; I believe the same sort of difference to subsist among priests as among other men, with respect to clearness of judgment, natural humanity, and religious benevolence, or Christian liberality. If some were actuated by vulgar bigotry, and the absurd

notion (admissible only by an irrational mind) of the exclusive appropriation of the divine favour to their own mode of worship, others appear to have been possessed of superior ideas. Some of the latter, as well as the former, were employed in the baptising of protestants; but their motive was compassion, to save the lives of the objects from the rage of a fanatic mob, not their souls from eternal vengeance. Instances might be adduced, if necessary. I shall mention only that of Father Corish, of Mulranken, who, being requested by a protestant lady to baptize herself and family, replied, that except for protection from the fanaticism of the ignorant multitude, the ceremony was useless; that he would be on the watch for her safety, and give her timely notice if he should find the performance of that rite necessary.

That among the insurgents, the men who were the most scrupulously observant of the ceremonial of religion, were the most addicted to cruelty and murder, has been observed by those who had the best opportunity of observing. For this alliance of cruelty with superstition, since both are congenial with littleness of soul, we may perhaps be more able to account, than for the grounds of another observation, of the justness of which I have no sort of doubt:—those who had been heroes of the cudgel, or *Shilela*, the bullies of the country at fairs, and other public assemblies

of the peasantry, and who consequently were expected to be the most forward and active in the rebellion, were, on the contrary, when the insurrection took place, in general the most placid and reserved, the most shy of the fire-arms, and the most backward in battle.

The men who had been quiet and industrious in times of peace, were found the most resolute for combat, and most steady under arms, in times of warfare. A lesson to legislators ! Those habits of order and industry, on which the civil prosperity of a state so much depends, are the best preparatives to form an efficient soldiery. The hands best employed for the maintenance of the nation by the products of the soil, may, with proper direction, be most efficacious for its defence.

Chiefly by those who were boldest in fight was displayed some kind of ingenuity in their tumultuary warfare, in which they may be said to have had no regularity, subordination, or leaders. They converted books into saddles, when the latter could not be procured—placing the book, opened in the middle, on the horse's back, with ropes over it for stirrups. Large volumes, found in the libraries of the bishop of Ferns, and Mr. Stephen Ram, were considered by these revolutionists as fit for their purpose. Being very scantily stored with ammunition, they frequently used small round stones, and hardened balls of clay, instead of leaden bullets; and, by the

mixing and pounding of the materials in small mortars, they fabricated a species of gunpowder, which was said to explode with sufficient force while fresh, but not to remain many days fit for service. They found means to manage immediately, doubtless in an awkward manner, the cannon taken from the army, sometimes applying wisps of straw in place of matches. In their engagements with the military, they mostly availed themselves of hedges, and other such kind of shelter, to screen them from the shot of their opponents; and they generally arranged themselves in such order as to suffer little from the fire of the artillery, which they sometimes also seized by a furious and rapid onset. The Wexfordian insurgents never made an attack on any post in the night. As they were not, like regular troops, under any real command of officers, but acted spontaneously, each according to the impulse of his own mind, they were watched in battle one of another, each fearing to be left behind in case of a retreat, which was generally very swift and sudden. But in the night, when a man could not see the position of his associates, who might make their flight, or what they called *the run*, before he could perceive it, and thus leave him in the hands of those who never gave quarter, they would not trust one another in an attack; a circumstance very favourable to the loyal party, since to withstand

a well-conducted nocturnal assault with pikes would be much more difficult than one in day.

Whatever courage or ingenuity may have been possessed by numbers of individuals in these disorderly and unofficered bands, the rapid success of the Wexfordian insurgents, in the commencement of their ill-designed and ill-conducted warfare, and the delay of their suppression afterwards, are in great measure attributable to mistakes committed on the side of the royal forces. I reserve some particulars relative to some officers for another opportunity. The conduct and fate of Walpole are well known to the public. This gentleman, an extraordinary favourite of Lord Camden, is said to have been sent to the county of Wexford, with the design that he should reap the glory of conquest by the complete suppression of the rebels.—A panic (which certainly surprised me, doubtless from my ignorance of military affairs) appeared to have seized our officers in general, after the slaughter of Oulart, and the taking of Enniscorthy. This panic had such effect after the defeat of Walpole, that if major Hardy had not forced the garrison of Arklow to return to its post, all in that line to the south of Dublin would, I believe, have been abandoned to the rebels; and how Dublin itself in that case could have stood against internal and external assailants, I leave to others to judge. In the assault of Arklow, where general Skerrett acted

so important a part, the best defence of a post in the whole rebellion was displayed. Here, among other good arrangements, the remnant of those loyalists who had been most injudiciously disarmed and dispersed in the first retreat from Gorey, were furnished with arms, and so posted as to gall the enemy with great effect. On men of this kind, who in the Latin phrase were fighting *pro aris et focis*, much more dependance might be placed, in the defence of towns, than on the hired soldiers. In the defence of Ross, where the truly brave general Johnson commanded, a contrary conduct was observed. The loyal volunteers who might have been so posted as to avoid the danger of such a misconception, were disarmed, lest, not being clothed in military uniform they should be mistaken for rebels by the soldiery.

If the commanders of his majesty's forces, acting against the rebels, committed any small errors in their proper province, ample compensation was commonly made by the pen, in the dispatches to government published in their name, and other pieces of writing of a like nature. The numbers killed, if otherwise than on paper, might have alarmingly thinned the population of a county. I have taken much pains to make enquiry from various persons who had been on the scenes of action, and could never find ground to think otherwise, than that the numbers of men slain among the rebels, in

their several engagements with the military, were vastly less than they were stated to be in the bulletins and other public prints. I have reason to think that more men than fell in battle were slain in cold blood. No quarter was given to persons taken prisoners as rebels, with or without arms. For one instance—fifty-four were shot in the little town of Carnew in the space of three days, and thirty-nine in one day in the town of Dunlavin! How many fell in this manner, or were put to death unresisting, in houses, fields, and elsewhere, would be as difficult to state with accuracy, as the number slain in battle.

Though by slaughter in battle, executions with and without trial, and transportation from the kingdom, the population was perceptibly thinned in some districts of the county of Wexford, and still more in several parts of the county of Wicklow, the former county on the whole amount seemed scarcely to have sustained a sensible diminution of its peasantry; but the marks of devastation, and the absence of the gentry, cast a melancholy gloom, where a cheerful aspect had so lately prevailed. By an inquiry of immensely more labour to the inquirer, than importance to the public, the numbers of those who have disappeared from each county, by death and transportation, might be calculated to a degree nearer to accuracy than of all those who were congregated to the standards of rebellion.

The armies of insurgents stationed at the same time within the county of Wexford, at the posts of Three-rocks, Lacken, Vinegar-hill, and Gorey, cannot be supposed, at the lowest estimation, to have consisted of less than forty thousand men ; indeed in the opinion of many who had an opportunity of seeing them, fifty thousand. From the strictest inquiries which I have been able to make, I am convinced that almost all of these were Wexfordians, or inhabitants of the county of Wexford. The numbers mixed with them from other parts, doubtless not exceeding a few hundreds, were hardly discernible in the general mass : except that perhaps a thousand or more of those inhabitants of the county of Wicklow, who co-operated in the attack of Arklow, retired with the Wexfordians, after their defeat to the station at Gorey.

Since the county of Wexford furnished at least, in this rebellion, forty thousand insurgents, and at the same time a considerable number of loyalists fit to bear arms, of whom not all were embodied or employed as they might, we cannot on probable grounds, estimate the number of males in this county, of the military age, at much less than fifty thousand ; whence we must infer a population of little less than two hundred and fifty thousand of both sexes, and all ages. Doubtless this county, naturally of so poor a soil as to be unfit for grazing, and consequently

inhabited mostly by a people who draw their subsistence from agriculture, is one of the most populous, but far from one of the most extensive in the south of Ireland. Dr. Duigenan, in his excellent pamphlet, stiled *The present political State of Ireland*, combats the calculation of Chalmers concerning the population of this kingdom, and declares his opinion "that the whole inhabitants of Ireland do not amount to more than three millions, if to so many;"* which allows not a hundred thousand souls to each of the thirty-two counties on an average. But, while Chalmers' estimate is founded on substantial grounds, the Doctor's arguments appear to be little better than airy conceptions. From the same grounds as Mr. Chalmers, (documents furnished by Mr. Bushe) I some years ago, availing myself of some observations of my own, calculated the inhabitants of this island at four millions, and have stated it so in another work.† I have since made further observations, and have found the number of persons in what towns and districts I have been enabled to examine, much greater than they should be on the principles of the above calculation. I am therefore of opinion that the number of people in this kingdom would be found, if

* See his Appendix, No. 1.

† See Gordon's *Terraquea*, vol. iii. p. 269.

completely ascertained, much nearer to five than to four millions.*

In the relative magnitudes of the two great British Islands, either the Doctor is widely mistaken, or I have made an erroneous representation of them from a careful mensuration of the best maps of these islands, the larger of which I have supposed to bear to the other a proportion not so great as that of three to one.† That the latter contains less waste land in proportion to its area,‡ is a well known truth, observed particularly by

* Sir R. Musgrave's reasoning (*Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland*, p. 523, 524) would tend to prove the population of Ireland to be prodigious. He calculates that forty-nine thousand men, inhabitants of the county of Wexford, were at once in arms against government; that these fall short by twenty thousand of the whole number of men in the county (for he could not have reckoned women and children as fighting men) and that the county of Wexford contains about a thirty-fourth part of the whole population of Ireland. By this calculation there should be considerably above two millions of men in Ireland, of the military age, and consequently above ten millions of people of both sexes and all ages. A most absurd calculation!

† See Gordon's *Terraquea*, vol. iii. p. 74, 268.

‡ The ingenious and learned narrator of transactions at Killybegs, hereafter to be quoted, says in one place, (p. 12.) that the wild district of Erris, a frightful tract of bog and mountain, is tolerably well peopled. And in another, (p. 106) "the population in the mountainous parts of the county of Mayo much exceeds what the country, from its haggard appearance, would be thought capable of sustaining." This is the case in all the wild tracts throughout Ireland.

Arthur Young; and the counties in the north of Ireland are in general much more populous than that of Wexford. As I have had ample opportunity of observing the manners and habits of the Irish peasantry, I should not think the matter altogether miraculous, nor even be much surprised, if this island should be found to have more than quadrupled its population since the year 1677, supposing Sir William Petty, (who then stated the number of its inhabitants at eleven hundred thousand) to have committed no error in his computation.*—Poverty prevents not marriage among the peasants of this kingdom. They almost all enter young into the ties of matrimony, apparently with an uncommon trust in Providence for the maintenance of their children, contenting themselves with such houses, accommodations, and food, as would be quite inadequate to the support of life in English people of the same class. In such circumstances of existence, apparently inimical to the increase of the human species, they seldom fail of a numerous offspring, who grow to maturity with a hardiness of constitution seldom elsewhere surpassed.

* The population of the Russian Empire is found to be doubled every forty nine years (W. Tooke's view of the Russian Empire, book 3. sect. 1.) and I can hardly conceive the Russians to be more prolific than the Irish peasantry.

With the learned Doctor I fully agree in another position, that, whatever may be the population of this kingdom, or the proportion of protestant and Romanist inhabitants, with respect to number, the protestant government of Ireland is completely adequate to the support of its authority against all internal enemies, without any assistance from the great sister island, Britain. But this must be on supposition that the Irish government was a stable administration, not fluctuating by the erroneous policy or caprice of British ministers, nor shackled or counteracted in its operations by their influence. On this proviso I should not doubt of the efficiency of the Irish administration for the above purpose, with even a mere pageant of state at its head; but against a powerful army of invading enemies, aided by the disaffected at home, it could not, without British assistance, be supposed able to maintain its ground, more than the British government against a proportionally powerful invading force, if Britain were in like manner stocked with a starving peasantry, oppressed with enormous rents, unable by the nature of their tenures to acquire a secure property for their families by any labour, and unfortunately habituated to regard foreign powers as their friends, and the protectors of their religion, in prejudice to their own government. The same learned writer seems to insinuate that the rebel-

lion might, or would have been prevented, if the Irish administration had not been shackled or influenced by British interference.* I also think his assertion well founded, that the rebellion was suppressed by the sole strength of the Irish government without being under any obligation for assistance in troops or money from Britain; but I deny that the whole Romanists of the counties of Carlow, Kildare, and Wicklow, were united in host with the Wexfordian rebels.† In the county of Carlow the inhabitants are well known to have remained quiet except in one extremely ill concerted and unsuccessful attack, that of the chief town. The insurgents of Kildare acted altogether separately from those of Wexford, with whom they had no communication, except an intercourse of messages. The same was the case with those of Wicklow, except that a great body of them joined in the attack of Arklow, and that afterwards, in the decline of the rebellion, a number of them retired by Tinnehely and Kilcavan to Vinegar-hill. So that whatever was performed by rebels within the bounds of the county of Wexford, previously to their dislodgment from Vinegar-hill, was performed by Wexfordians alone, as the taking of Enniscorthy and Wexford, the attack of Newtownbarry, the

* See Dr. Duigenan's pamphlet, p. 80, Dublin edition.

† Dr. Duigenan's pamphlet, p. 85—94.

defeat of Walpole, and the formidable assault of Ross.

If, however, these Wexfordians had improved without delay the advantages for which they were in a considerably degree indebted, at first to the smallness and mismanagement, and afterwards to the mismanagement alone, of the troops or force opposed to them, they would doubtless have been joined by most at least of the Romanists of the neighbouring counties, and the consequences would, in all probability have been calamitous in the extreme to the south of Ireland at least. Of this we might be able to form some conception from the miseries occasioned by the short-lived rebellion, of which I have been treating, in the territories immediately affected by it. Of these miseries I have already treated so far as my plan allowed, and have observed that those, which loyalists underwent, arose not always from rebels alone. I shall only add at present, that the system of espionage, or the encouragement and reception of private information, with the utter concealment of the names of the informers, from the persons accused, which system had from a most lamentable necessity, been adopted by government before the rebellion, was, without any necessity that I can perceive, continued by some after its suppression. How far the supposition or imputation of disloyalty against persons possessed of any valuable effects,

might have been profitable to needy or greedy dependants of any general officer, I mean not at present to examine. The disclosure of certain facts I defer to another opportunity. I shall here give only one instance of the consequences of this late espionage—an instance which could, I believe, have had no connexion with profit to the receivers of information, but which may serve to shew that even active loyalty could not secure a man against private malice, in the district of Gorey for a certain time:—Captain Atkins, of Emma-vale, near Arklow, who, at no small trouble and expence, had embodied and disciplined a troop of yeoman cavalry, and had exerted himself greatly in support of government, was, without any known cause, most disgracefully deprived of his command by a general officer, and dismissed from the service of his king and country! This worthy gentleman strained every nerve to procure a court-martial to examine his conduct; and, after a length of time, succeeded, by the powerful interest of a nobleman, in spite of the most artful evasions. On his trial, captain Atkins (to whom, for the killing of the ravager Hacket, the public is more indebted than to some general officers) was most honourably acquitted, as no charge could be produced against him,

CHAP. VI.

*French Invasion—Killala—Ballina—Castlebar—Battle
—Cornwallis—March of the French—Battle of
Coloony—Of Ballinamuck—Of Granard—Of Wil-
son's Hospital—Attack of Castlebar—Battle of
Killala—Narrative of transactions there—Character
of the Invaders—Of their officers—Imaginary bank—
Temporary police—Embassy—Conduct of the Con-
naught rebels—Military disorder—Treatment of
French officers—Trials—Tone—Tandy—Naval
Victory—Second fleet at Killala—Death of Tone—
Reflections—Priests—Effects of rebellions—Union—
Conclusion.*

SUCH usage might seem calculated to convert Irish loyalists into rebels; but not even the extremity of maltreatment could produce this effect on protestants, who were convinced that their existence must terminate with that of the government, and who might rather choose, if dire necessity should so require, to die by the hands of the royal soldiery, which was the case with too many, than by those of their unfortunately bigotted countrymen. This attachment of the Irish protestants to the British government was little known in France, where

the directory, and the nation in general, had been persuaded, by the commissioners of the united conspiracy, into a belief of so universal a disaffection in Ireland, that, on the appearance of a powerful armament from France on its coasts, the whole country would rise in arms to aid its efforts for the subversion of the British government in this island. The neglect of attempting, in this prepossession of mind, to send succours to the Irish insurgents, while the Wexfordian rebels were in force, is a proof that (most fortunately for the British empire) the government of France was then very feebly administered. If, according to the advice of lord Edward Fitzgerald, the French directory had sent a number of swift vessels to different parts of the coast, with officers, troops, arms, and ammunition, some of them very probably might have eluded the vigilance of the British cruisers, and landed the succours; which must, by inspiring the rebels, have greatly augmented their force, independently of the actual accession of strength by the council of accomplished leaders, and the prowess of trained soldiers. What effects might thus have been produced, we may in some degree conjecture from the impression made on the kingdom by a contemptibly small body of French troops, landed after the complete suppression of the rebels, in a part of the island quite remote from the scene of rebel-

lion, and until then exhibiting no signs of disaffection.

This was the ill-timed expedition of general Humbert, who, on the 22nd of August, two months after the dislodgment of the rebels from the county of Wexford, landed at the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, with a thousand and thirty private soldiers, and seventy officers, from three frigates, two of forty-four, and one of thirty-eight guns—which had sailed from Rochelle on the 4th of the same month, with design to invade the county of Donegal, in which they were frustrated by contrary winds. The garrison of Killala, consisting of only fifty men, of whom thirty were yeomen, the rest sensible soldiers of the prince of Wales's regiment, after a vain attempt to oppose the entrance of the French vanguard, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, fled with precipitation, leaving two of their number dead, and their two officers prisoners (lieutenant Sills, of the sensibles, and captain Kirkwood, of the yeomen) together with nineteen privates. To compensate, as far as possible, by the vigour of his operations, for the smallness of his number, seems to have been an object with the French general. He sent on the next morning toward Balliná,* a small town situate seven miles to the

* In this name the accent is laid on the last syllable.

south of Killala, a detachment, which, retreating from some picquet guards, or reconnoitering parties, of loyalists, detached from the garrison of the former on the following day, led them to a bridge, under which lay concealed a serjeant's guard of French soldiers. By a volley from these, a clergyman, who had volunteered on the occasion, and two carabineers, were wounded, the first mortally. This clergyman was the Rev. George Fortescue, nephew to lord Clermont, and rector of Ballina. The French advancing to this town, took possession of it in the night of the 24th; the garrison, under colonel Sir Thomas Chapman, and major Keir of the carabineers, retreating to Foxford, ten miles to the south, leaving one prisoner, a yeoman, in the hands of the enemy.

The marquis Cornwallis had completely planned, and after unavoidable delays from the situation in which he had found affairs, was on the point of putting into execution such an arrangement of his majesty's forces in Ireland as to enable him to assemble, with great expedition, a respectable body of troops in any part of the kingdom where expediency should require. Though this disposition could not as yet be effected, a force, which was very reasonably thought to be more than sufficient for the purpose, was in a few days collected in the quarter attacked by the invaders. Major-general Hutchin-

son arrived from Galway, on the 25th, at Castlebar, where he was joined, in the night of the 26th, by lieutenant-general Lake, who, on intelligence of the French invasion, had been ordered by the lord lieutenant to take the command of the forces which were assembling in Connaught to oppose the enemy. The army now collected at this post must, I think, have amounted, at least, to between three and four thousand men, though some have stated them at only two thousand three hundred, and others at only eleven hundred. The intention of the generals is supposed to have been to await, a few days at Castlebar, the arrival of more forces, and then to march to attack the enemy. But this enemy wisely chose the offensive rather than the defensive part in the attack; and while our officers were, in full security, enjoying the bottle, the French were marching with the utmost diligence to assail their quarters, and would, if I am rightly informed, have surprised our army before daylight, if they had not been delayed by the extreme ruggedness of the roads.

Humbert, who, according to the military institutions of the French republicans, had risen from the ranks to the dignity of a general officer, had rendered himself conspicuous in fighting against the insurgents of La Vendée; and had been second in command to general Hoche in the abortive expedition to the Bay of Bantry; seems

not to have been ignorant of the expediency of active and vigorous enterprise in the circumstances in which he found himself placed. Hardly any considerable number of the Irish had risen in rebellion about Killala, to assist the invaders, till the latter had added the conquest of Ballina to that of Killala, when many hundreds of peasants repaired to their standard, and with eagerness received the arms and uniforms which had been sent from France for their accommodation. To make as deep an impression as possible for the excitement of rebellion, before an army too powerful could be collected to overwhelm him, the French commander determined to attack the forces at Castlebar, and began his march on the morning of the 26th with eight hundred of his own men, and a number of rebels, estimated by some at fifteen hundred, and probably not less than a thousand in number. Instead of the common road through Foxford, where a body of troops had been stationed, under brigadier-general Taylor, to observe his motions, he advanced through mountains by ways generally deemed impassable to an army, where, at a pass called the gap of Barnageehy, six miles from Castlebar, his further progress, if I am not mistaken, might have been totally prevented, if, instead of a captain's guard, a somewhat stronger body had been posted with two or three pieces of artillery. That of the French consisted of only

two small curicle guns, the repairing of the carriage of one of which, broken by the extreme ruggedness of the roads, caused, fortunately for our army, a considerable delay in their march. The French general, is reported to have been furnished with such information concerning the state of affairs at Castlebar, as to be rendered confident of his meeting with no opposition in the rugged ways which he had chosen for his line of march to the point of attack.

The town of Castlebar very narrowly escaped at least a partial devastation from our own army, before the approach of the enemy was expected. A shot unaccountably fired from a window in the night, and said to be levelled at the Longford militia, excited a tumult among the soldiery, which, if it had not been speedily quieted by the exertions of the officers, might have caused the firing of houses, and a melancholy destruction of lives and property. Three or four hours after, or at two o'clock in the morning of the 27th, intelligence arrived of the advance of the enemy through the mountains. This, which is said to have been discredited at first, and pronounced impossible by our officers, was soon confirmed. The French were found to be, at seven o'clock, within two miles of the town, between which and the assailants our army was soon arranged in an advantageous position. The great superiority of the royal

forces in the weight of artillery, and the numbers and freshness of the men, who were free from fatigue—while the French had been laboriously scrambling their way through mountains, near twenty-four hours, without repose, might seem to promise an easy victory to our army. At the commencement of the battle appearances were favourable to this presumption. The royal artillery, which is universally allowed to have been excellently managed under the directions of captain Shortall, made such execution among the French, that they were checked in their progress, and recoiled a few minutes. These veterans however meant not to retreat, though their Irish auxiliaries were as yet of little use to them in combat. They filed away in small parties to the right and left, as if they meant to assail our troops in flank, and some of them are said to have advanced on the Frazer fensibles in the left, so as almost to reach the points of their bayonets. As yet, however, the French, who had lost many of their number, principally by the fire of our artillery, had fired only a few shots, when the royal army, seized with an unaccountable panic, broke on all sides; notwithstanding the utmost exertions of their officers, and fled in extreme confusion through the town on the road to Tuam. I am informed by good authority, that the French officers, at the first view of the number, and excellent arrangement of our troops

expected no other fortune than to be obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, till observing the irregular fire of our musketeers, many of whom fired without orders, they conceived some hope, and advanced under cover of the smoke; but that they must have probably laid down their arms, if general Lake had not commanded a retreat, which was the real cause of the rout; and that if general Hutchinson had been chief commander on this occasion, the career of the invaders would have ended at Castlebar. Some individuals fired back on their pursuers in their flight through the street, but so unguarded was the rear, that a few Frenchmen, actuated by some strange frolic, some say seven, some seventeen, pursued to a considerable distance along the road, till lord Roden's cavalry wheeled and cut them down.

A panic seemed still to operate on our troops, who made so quick a retreat as to reach the town of Tuam, thirty miles from the scene of action, on the night of the same day, and to renew their march, after a short refreshment, retiring still farther towards Athlone, where an officer of carabineers, with sixty of his men, arrived at one o'clock on Tuesday the 29th, having performed a march of sixty-three miles (the distance of Athlone from Castlebar) in twenty-seven hours. The artillery, lost by our army in this unexpected defeat, consisted of fourteen pieces,

of which four were curricule guns. Beside that of the carabineers, of which no return has been published, the loss of men has been stated at fifty-three killed, thirty-four wounded, and two hundred and seventy-nine prisoners or missing. Among the wounded were two lieutenants and three serjeants. Among the prisoners and missing were two majors, three captains, six lieutenants, three ensigns, two officers of the staff, ten serjeants, and two drummers. Of the privates missing, the greater part (soldiers of the Longford and Kilkenny militia) were afterwards found to have deserted to the enemy, which, with other circumstances, gave some grounds for suspicion that treachery had some share in the defeat at Castlebar. That not one of these deserters escaped the death which their defection merited, is perhaps not unworthy of remark. The loss of the French in killed and wounded is, with probability, said to have been greater than that of our troops, though not satisfactorily stated.

The marquis Cornwallis, who from the first intelligence of the invasion, had, notwithstanding the smallness of the invading army, been so sensible of the danger which might thence arise, as to have determined to march in person against the enemy, arrived at Philipstown on the 26th of August; whence he proceeded next day to Kilbeggan, having by the way of the grand

canal made a progress of forty-four Irish, or fifty-six English miles in two days. Receiving here, on the 28th, very early in the morning, the disagreeable news of the defeat at Castlebar, he advanced to Athlone, where he was positively informed by many who had fled through Tuam; particularly a lieutenant of the carabineers, and captain O'Donnel of the Newport-Pratt yeomen, that the French had pursued the army of general Lake to Tuam; driven it from that post, and taken possession of the town. If such a pursuit had been possible to the French, after their exhausting march to Castlebar, even this extraordinary report might have been true, since general Lake, having lost his artillery and ammunition, thought the post of Tuam unsafe with panic-struck troops, many of them also disorderly, and judged a retreat expedient nearer to Athlone. Even on this town, sixty-three miles from the French army, which never moved farther in that line than Castlebar, an attack was apprehended, and pickets and patrols were advanced far on the roads to Tuam and Ballinasloe.

From these facts a judicious reader, acquainted with the state in which Ireland then was, where multitudes were prepared to rise in rebellion as soon as they should see any force in a probable condition to support them, may very probably be of opinion, that, if such a man as Cornwallis

had not been at the head of the Irish administration, with full power to act according to his own judgment, the consequences of this petty invasion might have speedily become very ruinous to this kingdom. His excellency saw that the utmost caution was expedient, as well as vigour in the movements of his forces. The motions of the main army immediately under his own command, were calculated to cover the country, to intimidate the abettors of rebellion, and to afford an opportunity of rallying to any smaller bodies of troops which might be defeated; while these bodies were ordered to harass the enemy as much as possible without running risks, or engaging in battle without almost a certainty of success. The marquis proceeded on the 30th of August in the road to Castlebar, and arrived on the 4th of September at Hollymount, whence he intended to advance to the attack of the French army posted at Castlebar, fourteen miles distant, till in the evening of the same day he received intelligence that the enemy had abandoned that post in the morning, and had marched in the direction of Foxford.

After their victory at Castlebar, the French received great additional accessions of Irish peasantry to their standard, chiefly, as before, from the western and mountainous parts of the county of Mayo. To furnish these multitudes with fire-arms, the stores brought from France were

quite insufficient, though, according to the account of colonel Charost to the bishop of Killala, five thousand five hundred muskets were distributed in the last mentioned place to the insurgents. These new levies of mountaineers were generally very awkward in the use of guns, and proved to be of no very effectual aid to the French, who had expected far more powerful assistance from the Irish. They had also expected to be immediately followed by additional troops and stores from France. Totally disappointed in the former expectation, and seeing little prospect of being gratified in the latter, they began to suspect that they had been sent on a desperate errand, as a forlorn hope, to annoy, not to conquer, the enemies of their country. Like brave and faithful soldiers, they resolved to perform their duty, even in this case, and to make every effort in their power against the British government, until irresistible necessity should compel them to surrender.

General Humbert, having ordered, on the 1st of September, the troops left at Killala to repair to the main body, commenced a rapid march, very early in the morning of the 4th, from Castlebar, through Foxford, toward the town of Sligo, perhaps with a design of attempting to approach the county of Donegal, where the additional forces from France were expected to make a landing. Lieutenant-colonel Crawford,

with a body of troops, supported by another under general Lake, hung upon his rear, another under major-general Moore watched his motions at a greater distance ; while the marquis Cornwallis, with the main army, moved in a nearly parallel direction from Hollymount, through Clare and Ballyhaunis, toward Carrick-on-Shannon, intending to regulate his subsequent motions by those of the enemy.

The advanced-guard of the French having passed Tubbercurry, after a skirmish with some yeomen guards, and arrived at Coloony, was opposed on the 5th by colonel Verreker of the the city of Limerick militia, who had marched from Sligo for the purpose, with three hundred infantry, thirty of the 24th regiment of light dragoons, and two curriele guna. The colonel found the enemy arranged for his reception between him and the town of Coloony. After a smart action of about an hour's continuance, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of his artillery, to Sligo, whence he withdrew his little army to Ballyshannon. He has stated his loss of private soldiers at only six killed and twenty-two wounded. Himself and four other officers were slightly wounded, and one, ensign Rumley, slain. He was informed that the loss of the French exceeded fifty, of whom thirty were wounded. As colonel Verreker certainly proved

himself a man of great spirit, and steady courage, in this affair, I am not inclined to doubt his veracity; and I should think that his little army acquitted itself with sufficient honour without the supposition of its having been actually engaged with the whole French force, as the colonel states, instead of the vanguard only.*

This opposition, though attended with defeat to the opposers, is supposed to have caused the French general to relinquish his design on Sligo. He directed his march by Drummahair toward Manorhamilton in the county of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the sake of expedition, three six pounders dismounted, and throwing five pieces more of artillery over the bridge at Drummahair into the water. In approaching Manorhamilton he suddenly wheeled to the right, taking his way by Drumkerin, perhaps with design of attempting, if possible, to reach Granard in the county of Longford, where an alarming insurrection had taken place. Crawford's troops hung so close on the rear-guard of the French as to come to action with it on the 7th, between Drumshambo and Ballynamore, in which action they were repulsed with some loss, and admonished to observe more caution in the pursuit.

* The French are said to have mistaken the colonel's army for the vanguard of a much greater, and to have been thereby prevented from attempting to surround it.

The French army, passing the Shannon at Ballintra, and halting some hour in the night at Cloone, arrived at Ballinamuck on the 8th of September, so closely followed by the troops of colonel Crawford and general Lake, that its rear-guard was unable to break the bridge at Ballintra to impede the pursuit; while Lord Cornwallis, with the grand army crossing the same river at Carrick-on-Shannon, marched by Mohill to Saint-Johnstown in the county of Longford, to intercept it in front, in its way to Granard; by which movement it was reduced to such a situation that, if it should proceed, it must inevitably be surrounded by British forces in number, I believe, between twenty and thirty thousand, and commanded by one of the most accomplished generals, of the age. In this desperate situation, Humbert arranged his forces, with no other object, that I can conceive, than to maintain the honour of the French arms. The rear-guard being attacked by Colonel Crawford, about two hundred infantry surrendered. The rest continued to defend themselves for above half an hour, when on the appearance of the main body of general Lake's army, they also surrendered, after they had made Lord Roden, with a body of dragoons, a prisoner, who had advanced into the French lines to obtain their surrendry, and who now, by ordering the troops of his party to halt, fortunately prevented some

effusion of blood. The rebel auxiliaries who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and were pursued with slaughter. The number of their slain is reported to have been five hundred, which seems much less to exceed the truth than returns of slain in the south-eastern parts of Ireland. Notwithstanding its diminution by desertions in its march, the force of the rebels, accompanying the French army, is said to have consisted of fifteen hundred men at the time of this surrendry. The loss of the king's troops is stated at three privates killed, twelve wounded, three missing, and one officer wounded, lieutenant Stephens of the carabineers. The troops of general Humbert were found, when prisoners, to consist of seven hundred and forty-eight privates, and ninety-six officers; having sustained a loss of two hundred and eighty-eight since their first landing at Killala.

The prudence of lord Cornwallis in the plan of his movements, in a line between the invading force and the interior country, is evinced, beside other circumstances, from an insurrection in the neighbourhood of Granard, which had place while the French were marching from Castlebar, and had been designed to make a powerful diversion in their favour, and even to afford them a commodious post, whence they might more conveniently direct their operations against the

metropolis. The united conspiracy had been embraced by multitudes in the neighbouring counties, particularly in that of Longford, where men of property had espoused the cause. Their plan is said to have been to rise at the summons of their chiefs in the neighbourhood of Granard, to seize that post, and then with augmented hosts, to attack the town of Cavan, where considerable stores of arms and ammunition were deposited. They nearly surprised the former town; a body said to consist of six thousand, but probably two or three thousand, inhabitants of the counties of Westmeath and Longford, very few of them armed with guns, advancing against it in the morning of the 5th of September, before any considerable force could be procured for its protection. Most critically, captain Cottingham of the Cavan and Ballyhaise yeoman infantry, arrived with eighty-five men for its defence, after an extremely expeditious march from Cavan, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, when the rebels had come within sight of the town, under the conduct of Alexander Denniston, a yeoman lieutenant of the M¹strim cavalry, who had deserted his troop to join the insurgents. 01

Cottingham's force, composed wholly of yeomen, consisted of only a hundred and fifty-seven infantry and forty-nine cavalry. He chose a strong position between the assailants and the town, on the hill on which Cranard is built; but

observing that the rebels, who had at first advanced in one column, divided into three to surround his little army, he retreated to another position still nearer to the town. Here, protected by a bank and other fences, the yeomen awaited the onset of the enemy, who driving before them a multitude of cattle, which the defensive party turned aside without falling into confusion, advanced very close to their line, and received a destructive discharge of musketry. They persevered however in their attempt, with long intervals of pause, during five hours, from between nine and ten in the morning till between two and three in the afternoon, when they fled, and were pursued with slaughter. The number of their slain is, in the captain's official account, said to have exceeded four hundred, and in an anonymous account nearly twice as many are asserted to have fallen; while of the royal party not one was killed, and only two slightly wounded. The gallant officer, whose conduct on that day, with that of the men under his command, gave a conspicuous proof of the effectual service of yeomen infantry, was, in proportion to his actual merit, less inclined to exaggeration; I cannot suppose that so many as two hundred could have fallen. Beside the officers, three gentlemen are much praised for their behaviour on this occasion, Andrew Bell, of Drumkeel, and Moutray Erskine, who volunteered, and Ralph Dopping who de-

fended the entrance into the town by the barracks. This victory was of great importance, since it prevented the spreading of the insurrection, and those murders and devastations which must have been its consequences.

The strongest column of the rebels, composed of inhabitants of Westmeath, directed their march, after their defeat, to Wilson's Hospital, an edifice erected for charitable purposes, the maintenance of twenty aged men and a hundred boys, in the last mentioned county, six miles from Mullingar, from a legacy bequeathed by Andrew Wilson of Piersfield. This building had already been seized and plundered in the morning of the same day, by another body of rebels, who, on the arrival of the defeated column, were taking measures, (we are told) to butcher on the succeeding day, the 6th of September, twenty-eight protestants, who had been brought thither prisoners from the neighbouring country, when they were prevented by the approach of a small body of troops, about four o'clock in the afternoon. This was a force collected with great diligence by Lord Longford, composed of yeomen and Argyle fencibles, the whole stated by some at between two and three hundred, by others at twice as many. The fencibles were commanded by major Porter, who brought one field piece for the attack. A large body of the rebels, of whom about five hundred are said to have

been armed with firelocks, marched from the hospital to meet these troops near the village of Bunbrusna. After an abortive attempt of some of their party to seize the field piece by an impetuous onset, in which, by a discharge of grape-shot, many of them suffered, the insurgents maintained not the combat long. In their flight a party took shelter in a farm-house and offices which were in consequence burned; and probably many wretches perished in the flames. The troops, as daylight failed, lay on their arms all night, with intention to attack the hospital in the morning; but they found it then evacuated by the insurgents, whose loss of men is reported by very doubtful authority to have been near two hundred in killed and wounded; while that of the royal troops was only two men of the artillery, shot by one rebel from behind a hedge.

So speedy a suppression of the rebels in the neighbourhood of Granard, who no more, after these defeats by so small a force, assembled in arms, might, with the surrendry of the French army two days after at Ballynamuck, be supposed sufficient to intimidate the rest of the rebels in the western parts into a relinquishment of all thoughts of a continuation of resistance. Yet in those territories of the county of Mayo, where they had first risen to assist the invaders, they still persevered in a state of insurrection. Intelligence, indeed, of Humbert's surrendry arrived

not in these parts for some days after; and before its arrival, Castlebar, which on its evacuation by the French, had been occupied by the king's troops, was attacked in the morning of the 12th of September, by a body of rebels, reported to be two thousand in number. The garrison, consisting of fifty-seven Fraser fensibles, thirty-four volunteers (including boys), and one troop of yeoman cavalry, was so judiciously posted by captain Urquart of the Frasers, as to completely rout the assailants, whose object was at least to plunder the town, perhaps also, as has been asserted, to murder all the protestant inhabitants, and even the loyal Romanists. The honour of the town's preservation is ascribed to captain Urquart, who resolved on its defence, contrary, as is said, to the opinion of a gentleman there, who advised its evacuation and the dereliction of all to the plunderers.

Most of the towns which had fallen into the hands of the rebels were about this time recovered, as Newport and Westport, by the fensibles and yeomen, under the Hon. Dennis Browne, brother to the earl of Altamont, and captain Urquart; but Ballina and Killala remained some time longer in their possession. On his march from Castlebar, on the 4th of September, Humbert had left no part of his army at Killala or Ballina, except three officers at the former, and one at the latter, to command the rebels who formed the garrisons

of these towns. Intelligence was received by these officers, on the 12th, of the fate of their army at Ballinamuk; which intelligence was, for good reasons, concealed from the rebels, until they were informed by some of their own party, who had escaped from the slaughter. To account satisfactorily for the tardiness of the king's troops in their march to these posts, where the loyalists were in perpetual danger of assassination, I am not furnished with materials; but they arrived not at Ballina till the 22d of September, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when after a few discharges of cannon and musketry, the rebel garrison, with its commander, a French officer, named Truc, fled toward Killala.

On the 23d of September, thirty-two days after the landing of the French army, and fifteen after its capture at Ballinamuck, a large body of troops arrived at Killala, under the command of major-general Trench, who would have been a day or two later in his arrival, if he had not been hastened by a message from the bishop of Killala, concerning the extreme danger of his family, and the rest of the loyalists in that town. "The peaceful inhabitants of Killala
"were now to be spectators of a scene which
"they had never expected to behold—a battle!
"a fight which no person who has seen it
"once, and possesses the feelings of a human
"creature, would choose to witness a second

“ time. A troop of fugitives in full race from
“ Ballina—women and children tumbling over
“ one another to get into the castle, or into any
“ house in the town where they might hope for a
“ momentary shelter—continued for a painful
“ length of time to give notice of the approach
“ of an army.

“ The rebels quitted their camp to occupy the
“ rising ground close by the town, on the road to
“ Ballina, posting themselves under the low stone
“ walls on each side in such a manner as enabled
“ them with great advantage to take aim at the
“ king’s troops. They had a strong guard also
“ on the other side of the town toward Foxford,
“ having probably received intelligence, which
“ was true, that general Trench had divided his
“ forces at Crosmalina, and sent one part of them
“ by a detour of three miles to intercept the
“ fugitives that might take that course in their
“ flight. This last detachment consisted chiefly
“ of the Kerry militia, under the orders of lieu-
“ tenant-colonel Crosbie, and Maurice Fitzgerald,
“ the knight of Kerry; their colonel, the earl
“ of Glandore, attending the general. It is a
“ circumstance which ought never to be forgotten
“ by the loyalists of Killala, that the Kerry
“ militia were so wrought upon by the exhorta-
“ tions of those two spirited officers, to loose no
“ time to come to the relief of their perishing
“ friends, that they appeared on the south side

“ of the town at the same instant with their
“ fellows on the opposite side, though they had
“ a league more of road to perform.

“ The two divisions of the royal army were
“ supposed to make up about twelve hundred
“ men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The
“ number of the rebels could not be ascertained.
“ Many run away before the engagement, while
“ a very considerable number flocked into the
“ town in the very heat of it, passing under the
“ castle windows in view of the French officers
“ on horseback, running upon death with as
“ little appearance of reflection or concern, as if
“ they were hastening to a show. About four
“ hundred of these misguided men fell in the
“ battle and immediately after it. Whence it
“ may be conjectured that their entire number
“ scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred.”*

To account for so great a slaughter, we are to observe from the same excellent narrative from which I have already transcribed, that they met with death on every side where they attempted to escape; for, when driven from their post outside the town by a flanking fire of the soldiery, they fled in all directions, they were furiously pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry, who slaughtered many in the streets, and were either intercepted at the other end of the town by the Kerry

* A narrative of what passed at Killala, by an eye witness, supposed to be the bishop of Killala. Dublin, 1800.

militia, or directed their flight to the shore, where also "the fugitives were swept away by scores, a cannon being placed on the opposite side of the bay which did great execution."*

The pursuit of the cavalry into the town "was not agreeable to military practice, according to which it is usual to commit the assault of a town to the infantry; but here the general wisely reversed the mode, in order to prevent the rebels, by a rapid pursuit, from taking shelter in the houses of the towns-folk, a circumstance which was likely to provoke indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. The measure was attended with the desired success. A considerable number was cut down in the streets, and of the remainder but a few were able to escape into the houses. Some of the defeated rebels, however, did force their way into houses, and by consequence brought mischief upon the innocent inhabitants, without benefit to themselves. The first house, after passing the bishop's, is that of Mr. William Kirkwood; its situation exposed it on this occasion to peculiar danger, as it fronts the main street, which was raked entirely by a line of fire. A flying rebel had burst through the door, followed by six or seven soldiers: they poured a volley of musketry after him, which proved

* Narrative of what passed at Killala, &c.

“ fatal to Mr. Andrew Kirkwood, a most loyal
 “ and respectable citizen, while he was rejoicing
 “ at the victory, and in the very act of shouting
 “ out ‘God save the King’ ! * In spite of the ex-
 “ ertions of the general and his officers, the town
 “ exhibited all the marks of a place taken by
 “ storm. Some houses were perforated like a
 “ riddle: most of them had their doors and
 “ windows destroyed ; the trembling inhabitants
 “ scarcely escaping with life, by lying prostrate
 “ on the floor. Nor was it till the close of next
 “ day that their ears were relieved from the horrid
 “ sound of muskets discharged every minute at
 “ flying and powerless rebels. The plague of
 “ war so often visits the world that we are apt to
 “ listen to any description of it with the indiffe-
 “ rence of satiety: it is the actual inspection
 “ only, that shews the monster in its proper and
 “ full deformity.” †

The town of Killala thus recovered by his
 majesty’s forces, had been thirty two days in the
 possession of the French and rebels. Of the
 transaction which occurred there during that

* The killing of loyalists by the king’s troops had place, it
 seems, in the west as well as the east of Ireland. The protestants
 of a village called Carrowearden, near Killala, having been
 brought away prisoners by a body of rebels, were, on the rout
 of that body, by an army from Sligo, marching to Killala, under
 lord Portarlington, put to death by the soldiery.

† Narrative of what passed at Killala, &c.

period, the public is favoured with an interesting narrative, universally supposed to be the production of the learned Dr. Stock, lord bishop of Killala, who, with his family, was all that time in the hands of the invaders and their auxiliaries. This narrative is valuable, since it is calculated for the prevention of those errors which, from the want of such authentic and impartial documents, are apt to creep into history, and to become so established by time as if they were unquestionable facts. It is extremely honourable to the writer, since it evinces a genuine goodness of heart, and a mind, so cultivated, so candid, so elevated above vulgar prejudices, and the servile fear of party, as to discern and publicly acknowledge the virtues of an enemy.

The visitation of his clergy had been appointed by the bishop to be held on the 23d of August ; but the unfavourable winds which caused the debarkation of the French troops in the bay of Killala, on the 22d, furnished him with company of a very different kind. In his misfortune, however, he had the great consolation of finding that, except his rebel countrymen, the enemies into whose hands he had fallen were polite and generous. “ Humbert desired him to be under
“ no apprehension—himself and all his people
“ should be treated with respectful attention, and
“ nothing should be taken by the French troops
“ but what was absolutely necessary for their

“support; a promise which, as long as these troops continued in Killala, was *most religiously observed*, excepting only a small sally of ill humour or roughness on the part of the commander toward the bishop.” The cause of this piece of roughness was, that boats for the transportation of the artillery and stores from the ships, and cars and horses for the forwarding of them by land, could not be procured by the general, by the offer of high prices or other means, till addressing the bishop as the principal personage, and telling him that he must procure these necessities for him, he pretended, on the failure of a commission which the bishop could not execute, to burst into a violent rage, and to send his lordship a prisoner to France. This produced the effect intended. The owners of the requisite vehicles immediately made their appearance to save the bishop, who received the apology of the general for the severity with which the situation of his affairs had constrained him to act.

The candid writer thus describes the little army of invaders. “Intelligence, activity, temperance, patience, to a surprising degree, appeared to be combined in the soldiery that came over with Humbert, together with the exactest obedience to discipline. Yet, if you except the grenadiers, they had nothing to catch the eye. Their stature for the most part was low,

“ their complexion pale and sallow, their clothes
“ much the worse for the wear: to a super-
“ ficial observer they would have appeared
“ incapable of enduring almost any hardship.
“ These were the men, however, of whom it
“ was presently observed, that they could be well
“ content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink
“ water, to make the stones of the street their bed,
“ and to sleep in their clothes, with no covering
“ but the canopy of heaven. One half of their
“ number had served in Italy under Bonaparte;
“ the rest were of the army of the Rhine, where
“ they had suffered distresses that well accounted
“ for thin persons and wan looks. Several of
“ them declared, with all the marks of sincerity,
“ that at the siege of Mentz, during the preced-
“ ing winter, they had for a long time slept on
“ the ground in holes made four feet deep under
“ the snow. And an officer, pointing to his
“ leather small-clothes, assured the bishop that
“ he had not taken them off for a twelvemonth.

“ Humbert, the leader of this singular body
“ of men, was himself as extraordinary a personage
“ as any in his army. Of a good height and
“ shape, in the full vigour of life, prompt to
“ decide, quick in execution, apparently master
“ of his art, you could not refuse him the praise
“ of a good officer, while his physiognomy forbade
“ you to like him as a man. His eye, which was
“ small and sleepy, (the effect, probably, of much

“ watching) cast a side-long glance of insidious-
“ ness and even of cruelty : it was the eye of a
“ cat preparing to spring upon her prey. His
“ education and manners were indicative of a
“ person sprung from the lower orders of society,
“ though he knew how (as most of his country-
“ men can do) to assume, where it was convenient,
“ the deportment of a gentleman. For learning,
“ he had scarcely enough to enable him to write
“ his name. His passions were furious, and all
“ his behaviour seemed marked with the charac-
“ ters of roughness and violence. A narrower
“ observation of him, however, served to discover,
“ that much of this roughness was the result of
“ art, being assumed with the view of extorting
“ by terror a ready compliance with his com-
“ mands. Of this truth the bishop himself was
“ one of the first who had occasion to be made
“ sensible,”—as has been already related.

The officer left by Humbert at Killala, in
command, “ lieutenant-colonel Charost, had
“ attained to the age of five-and-forty. He was
“ born in Paris, the son (as the writer was told)
“ of a watch-maker in that city, who sent him
“ over early to some connexions in St. Domingo,
“ where he was fortunate to marry a wife with a
“ plantation for her dowry, which yielded him,
“ before the troubles, an income of two thousand
“ pounds sterling per annum. By the unhappy
“ war, which still desolates that island, he lost

“ every thing, even to his wife, and his only child,
“ a daughter: they were taken on their passage to
“ France, and sent away to Jamaica. His eyes
“ would fill when he told the family that he had
“ not seen these dear relatives for six years past,
“ nor even had tidings of them for the last three
“ years. On his return to France he had em-
“ braced the military life, and had risen by due
“ degrees to the rank which he now filled. He
“ had a plain, good understanding. He seemed
“ careless or doubtful of revealed religion, but
“ said that he believed in God, was inclined to
“ think that there must be a future state, and
“ was very sure that, while he lived in this world,
“ it was his duty to do all the good to his fellow-
“ creatures that he could. Yet what he did not
“ exhibit in his own conduct, he appeared to
“ respect in others; for he took care that no
“ noise nor disturbance should be made in the
“ castle on Sundays, while the family and many
“ protestants from the town were assembled in
“ the library at their devotions.”

“ Boudet, the next in rank to the commandant,
“ was a captain of foot, a native of Normandy,
“ twenty-eight years of age. His father, he said,
“ was still living, though sixty-seven years old
“ when he was born. His height was six feet
“ two inches. In person, complexion, and gra-
“ vity, he was no inadequate representation of
“ the knight of La Mancha, whose example he

“ followed in a recital of his own prowess and “ wonderful exploits, delivered in measured “ language, and an imposing seriousness of “ aspect.” The writer ascribes to him vanity, pride, and an irascible temper; but believed him to have more than an ordinary share of feeling; and that his integrity and courage appeared unquestionable; and says, “ on the whole, when “ we became familiarised to his failings, we saw “ reason every day to respect his virtues.”

Another French officer described by this writer, was Ponson, only five feet and a half in stature, but actuated by an unremitted flow of animal spirits, and incessantly noisy. “ He was hardy, “ and patient to admiration of labour and want “ of rest. A continued watching of five days “ and nights together, when the rebels were “ growing desperate for prey and mischief, did “ not appear to sink his spirits in the smallest “ degree. He was strictly honest and could not “ bear the want of this quality in others; so that “ his patience was pretty well tried by his Irish “ allies:” but he expressed a contempt of the forms of religion, to an excess which is justly ascribed to “ vanity, the miserable affectation of “ appearing to be more wicked than he really “ was.” A fifth officer, named Truc, is described as a man of brutal behaviour, and of an appearance corresponding to his character—“ a front “ of brass, an incessant fraudulent smile, manners

“altogether vulgar, and in his dress and person
“a neglect of cleanliness even beyond the
“affected negligence of republicans.”

The characters of these officers may be little interesting to some readers, but they were far from being matters of no concern to the inhabitants of Killala and its neighbourhood. If they had all been of the same disposition as Truc, or even if they had not been men of active humanity, the county of Mayo might have exhibited scenes of massacre similar to those of the county of Wexford; since without their exertions the protestants would have been imprisoned by the rebels, as hostages, on whom the deaths of their associates, taken prisoners and hanged by the king's army, should be retaliated. Highly indeed to the honour of the French forces in general, the ingenuous narrator of the transactions at Killala, gives the following testimony with respect to the behaviour of Humbert's army. “And here it
“would be an act of great injustice to the excellent discipline, constantly maintained by these
“invaders while they remained in our town, not
“to remark, that with every temptation to
“plunder, which the time, and the number of
“valuable articles within their reach, presented
“to them in the bishop's palace, from a sideboard of plate and glasses, a hall filled with
“hats, whips, and great coats, as well of the
“guests as of the family, not a single particu-

“ lar of private property was found to have been
“ carried away, when the owners, after the first
“ fright was over, came to look for their effects,
“ which was not for a day or two after the land-
“ ing. Immediately upon entering the dining-
“ room, a French officer had called for the
“ bishop’s butler, and gathering up the spoons
“ and glasses, had desired him to take them to
“ his pantry. Beside the entire use of other
“ apartments, during the stay of the French in
“ Killala, the attick story, containing a library
“ and three bed-chambers, continued sacred to
“ the bishop and his family. And so scrupulous
“ was the delicacy of the French not to disturb
“ the female part of the house, that not one of
“ them was ever seen to go higher than the
“ middle floor, except on the evening of their
“ success at Castlebar, when two officers begged
“ leave just to carry to the family the news of
“ the battle, and seemed a little mortified that
“ the intelligence was received with an air of
“ dissatisfaction.”

This army, however, so respectful of persons and private property, had come into the kingdom destitute of money for the advancement of their enterprise. Its leaders promised that “ready money was to come over in the ships expected every day from France: in the mean time, whatever was brought in voluntarily, or taken by necessity, to answer the occasions of the

“ army, should be punctually paid for in drafts
“ on the future directory of Ireland, of which
“ the owners of the goods demanded were cour-
“ teously invited to accept. For the first two
“ or three days many people did apply for such
“ drafts to the French commissary of stores,
“ whose whole time appeared to be taken up with
“ writing them. Indeed the bishop himself was
“ of opinion that the losers would act wisely to
“ accept of them, not, as he told the people,
“ that they would ever produce payment where
“ it was promised, but because they might serve
“ as documents to our own government, when,
“ at a future period it should come to inquire
“ into the losses sustained by its loyal subjects.
“ The trouble, however, of the commissary, in
“ issuing drafts on a bank in prospect, was not
“ of long duration. The people smiled first
“ and he joined himself in the smile at last, when
“ he offered the airy security.”—Thus though
private plunder for the emolument of individuals
was neither allowed nor practised, yet the neces-
sitous condition in which this army landed,
obliged its leaders to adopt this mode of public
regulated plunder, for its subsistence. If cash
had not been wanting to the rulers of France,
they might be supposed to have acted from
policy in sending none into a country which
must remain hostile, if the invasion should

prove abortive; and which otherwise, they might think, ought to be obliged to sustain the expences of its own revolution.

If necessity obliged the French, for the support of their enterprise, to adopt a plan of public plunder, one of the chief incitements to the unfortunate peasantry, in the country about Killala, to repair to the standard of these invaders, was the thirst of private pillage, the indulgence of which no efforts of their more civilised associates could prevent. Of this the despoiled loyalists of Mayo felt the sad effects through a large extent of country. Here, as in the south-eastern parts, which had already suffered by rebellion, protestant and loyalist were terms almost synonymous.

"The only persons of the established church who
"took arms against their sovereign, in favour of
"the invaders, were two drunken sots of Killala,
"who thinking apostacy the fittest prelude to
"treason, before they embraced the French
"party, did first publicly declare themselves
"converts to the church of Rome.* That enmity
"to the protestant religion entered into the
"motives of the devastation in Connaught,
"cannot with any shew of reason be denied,
"since it is notorious that, except during the
"indiscriminate plunder which took place at the
"capture of Castlebar, very few instances oc-

* Narrative of transactions at Killala, page 17.

“ curred, throughout the province, of the house or
“ property of a Roman catholic being injured by
“ the rebels.*

The miserable bigotry of the lower classes of Irish Romanists was very inconsistent with the notions of their French allies. “ The wonder
“ was,” says the narrator of Killala, “ how the
“ zealous papist should come to any terms of
“ agreement with a set of men, who boasted openly
“ in our hearing, ‘ that they had just driven Mr.
“ Pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find
“ him so suddenly in Ireland.” It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their service, declare, “ that they
“ were come to take arms for France and the
“ *Blessed Virgin*.” The conduct of the several priests, who engaged in the same treasonable enterprise, was yet more surprising than that of their people. No set of men could be treated with more apparent marks of dislike, and even contempt, than these were by the French, though against the plainest suggestions of policy, which recommended attention to them, both as having an influence over their flocks, and as useful interpreters, most of them, from their foreign education, being able to speak a little French. Yet the commandant would not trust to their interpretation : if he wanted to know the truth, he

* Narrative of transactions at Killala, page 118.

waited till he could see the bishop"* to interpret for him. The protestants of Killala enjoyed, under the protection of the French officers, the privilege of attending divine service every Sunday in the bishop's palace, commonly called the castle. The cathedral remained shut, and the Romanists often threatened to seize it for their own use; but they were always restrained by the presence of these officers.

While a body of French forces remained in Killala, their commanders were enabled to afford effectual protection to the protestants. But when these troops were summoned elsewhere, and no Frenchman was left, except three officers, Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, the prospect was truly horrible. Yet Providence was kind beyond expectation, "Whatever could be effected by vigilance, resolution, and conduct, for the safety of a place committed to them, was to a surprising degree effected for the district of Killala by these three French officers, without the support of a single soldier of their own country; and that for the long space of twenty-three days, from the first of September to the day of the battle," or recovery of Killala by the King's army. As the Romanists, notwithstanding the orders of the French officers for that purpose, would not consent that protestants should

* Narrative, &c. page 97.

have arms for the protection of their houses against pillagers, another expedient was adopted. "The French, it was said, had divided the "town and neighbourhood of Castlebar into "districts, appointing over each a municipal "officer with a guard at his command, properly "armed for the public defence; and the scheme "had there the desired success. A proclamation "was therefore issued for establishing a similar "form through the canton over which Charost "presided. The country was thrown into "departments: A magistrate, to be elected by "his neighbours, was to take charge of each "with the help of a guard of sixteen or twenty "men: arms and ammunition were to be distributed to these, under an express stipulation, "that neither officers nor men should be marched "out of their respective departments, nor employed against their sovereign, nor in any "service except that of keeping the peace. "The town of Killala was committed to the "protection of one hundred and fifty men, in "three bodies, all to be observant of the orders "of Mr. James Devitt, the civil magistrate "unanimously chosen by the people, because he "was a substantial tradesman, a Roman catholic, "and a man of sense and moderation. He had "under him two assistants of his own religion. "The benefits of this regulation were felt immediately in the establishment of tolerable order

“ and quiet, at least in and about the town ; and
“ without doubt they would have been felt to a
“ greater extent, if the French power had been
“ firmer.

“ The example of Killala was presently copied
“ in the other departments. Magistrates were
“ elected, always Roman catholics, but commonly
“ of the better sort among them, persons who
“ had no desire to take arms against the British
“ government. Some of these applied to the
“ bishop for his opinion, whether they should
“ incur the penalties of treason by acting under
“ a foreign power, merely for the common safety,
“ and under the conditions stated above. His
“ answer was, that he was no lawyer ; but having
“ always found the law of England to be conso-
“ nant to reason, he would take upon him to say,
“ there could be no law forbidding to do, under
“ these circumstances, what was absolutely en-
“ joined by the great law of self-preservation.
“ It is reported that, when the rebellion was over,
“ several persons muttered against this doctrine.
“ It might be conceded, they said, to the existing
“ terror, but it was not sound, because it might
“ be employed as an excuse for a tame and
“ prompt submission to any invaders. To such
“ tranquil declaimers on the merit of casting
“ away life and property, in preference to bowing
“ the head to a storm, it is obvious to reply, that
“ had they changed situations with those who

“ actually felt the distress, it is more than pro-
 “ bable they would have seen good reason to
 “ adopt the very conduct, which in the fulness
 “ of security they take upon them to condemn.*
 “ To submit to a king *de facto*, and even to act
 “ by a commission from such a one to preserve
 “ the peace of the community, provided by so
 “ doing you do not preclude yourself from re-
 “ turning under the government of a king *de*
 “ *jure*, is a practice sanctioned by the authority
 “ of our most equitable English law.”†

This temporary system of police, imperiously
 demanded by the situation of affairs, though it
 proved in general of very great utility, was not
 always effectual for the prevention of plunder.
 The rebel guards “ had the power at any instant
 “ to throw open the houses to their companions
 “ abroad, and let in depredation at least, if
 “ nothing worse. And this was a mischief too
 “ that happened not unfrequently. At Castle-
 “ Lacken, Castlereagh, and other houses belong-
 “ ing to protestants, where guards had been
 “ stationed, the soldiers proved traitors, and
 “ admitted rogues from without to plunder the
 “ families they were sent to defend.‡ The vil-
 “ lage of Mulharragh, a colony of industrious

* That the narrator is right I have no doubt, as I have found
 men *practically* cautious of danger in proportion to the boldness
 of their *professions*.

† Narrative, &c. p. 54, 57.

‡ Idem, p. 58.

“presbyterian weavers from Ulster, on pretence
“of searching for arms, was ransacked in three
“nocturnal invasions of the rebels, till there was
“nothing left in it worth carrying away; and
“this in defiance of a protection under the
“hand of the commandant, obtained for them
“and their pastor by the bishop. The poor
“sufferers came in tears to M. Charost, to return
“him a protection which had done them no
“good. It shocked him very much. Often
“did he whisper the bishop, that no considera-
“tion should prevail on him again to trust himself
“to such a horde of savages as the Irish.* The
“ravages of the rebels were encouraged by some
“of their chiefs; and spoil was not the sole, or
“even principal object of their leaders, for they
“destroyed in every decent habitation much
“more than they carried away. Depression of
“the industrious and better sort, the universal
“levelling of conditions, in order to bring on
“the glorious reign of equality, such appeared
“to be the wish of those who aspired at all to
“the praise of thinking, and called themselves
“*republicans*: the mob had no prompters but
“lust of pillage and superstition.”

The leaders, whom the Connaught rebels found among themselves, were, as may be supposed from what has been said of their giving countenance to depredation, almost without

* Narrative, &c. p. 103.

exception a most ignoble set of men. " Bellew, " their earliest officer, was a drunken brute to " whom nobody paid obedience, even before he " was turned out of office by the commandant. " Little better, either for talent or sobriety, was " O'Dowd, a man of some estate in the county; " and almost the only gentleman that took arms " with the rebels, for which he paid the forfeit " of his life at Ballinamuck. Mr. Richard " Bourke of Ballina had some military know- " ledge, was a good drill serjeant, firm in com- " bat, and popular; so that he might have done " the harm he wished, if the habitual stupefac- " tion of drink had not been an overmatch for " his malice, O'Donnel knew nothing of arms, " nor was he likely to learn the profession " quickly, his petulance making him unfit for " discipline. Yet the vulgar, who can discern " in others what they have not in themselves, " followed this young man more readily than " any other who pretended to lead them, because " they saw he had more sense, more command of " himself, and more moderation in the exercise " of authority. Even the loyalists at Killala " acknowledged obligation to him for the in- " dustry with which they saw him exert him- " self to prevent pillage, patrolling the streets on " horseback for several nights together, and " withholding both by threats and persuasion

“those whom he found bent upon mischief.”* This testimony whatever were his failings, is extremely honourable to the memory of O'Donnel, who had come from the country of Erris, and was killed in battle by the king's troops in the retaking of Killala.

The exertions of the three Frenchmen and O'Donnel for the protection of loyalists were continually required more every day, especially after the news arrived of the capture of Humbert's army at Ballinamuck. “The intelligence” “did not seem by any means to produce on the” “minds of the rebels the effect that might naturally have been expected, their gradual dispersion and return to their own homes. On” “the contrary, the resort to the camp in the” “bishop's meadows grew greater every day; the” “talk of vengeance on the protestants was louder” “and more frequent, the rebels were drilled regularly, ammunition was demanded, and every” “preparation made for an obstinate defence” “against the arms of their sovereign. Careless” “of the future or trusting to the delay which” “must be occasioned by the distance of the” “king's army, they thought of nothing but” “living merrily as long as they might, upon the” “property that lay at their mercy, and they did” “use their power of doing mischief most ter-

* Narrative, &c. p. 127, 128.

“ribly.”* On the 19th of September, the clamour for imprisonment of the protestants as hostages became so violent, that probably the fatal measure would have been adopted, in spite of the utmost efforts of the humane and spirited officers, if it had not been prevented by a stratagem of the bishop.

He proposed that two ambassadors, the one a rebel chieftain, named Roger M'Guire, the other a loyalist, Dean Thompson, should go to the commander of the King's forces at Castlebar, with a flag of truce; and a letter from himself, setting forth to the commander the situation of the protestants at Killala, and expressing their hope that nothing would be done to the prisoners at Castlebar which might provoke reprisals on the protestants at Killala. These ambassadors returned from their perilous journey in the evening of the 21st. “Dean Thompson, though closely “watched by his fellow messenger, as long as “the latter was able to keep himself awake, had “found means to have a private conference “with general Trench.” Doubtless the result of this conversation was a very polite letter from the general to the bishop, “assuring “him that his prisoners were, and should be, “treated with all possible tenderness and humanity. The letter was publicly read to the

* Narrative, &c. p. 117.

"multitude, and left in their hands." This caused at least an irresolution among the insurgents, numbers of whom had that day menaced the protestants, and their abettors, as they called the French; and had declared a determination of choosing new leaders, and of plundering the town that very evening, in spite of the French and of O'Donnel. This irresolution most fortunately continued, notwithstanding that early the next morning "the loyalists were desired by the rebels to come up with them to the hill on which the needle-tower is built, in order to be eye-witnesses of the havoc a party of the king's army was making, as it advanced towards them from Sligo. A train of fire too clearly distinguished their line of march, flaming up from the houses of unfortunate peasants. 'They are only a few cabins,' remarked the bishop; and he had scarcely uttered the words, when he felt the imprudence of them. 'A poor man's cabin,' answered one of the rebels, 'is to him as valuable as a palace.'†

These insurgents, thus irresolute to kill in cold blood, shewed no want of resolution in defence of their post when assailed by the army, as is already mentioned in the account of the retaking of Killala. The narrator often quoted says elsewhere, "to do them justice, the peasantry never

* Narrative, &c. p. 133, 134. † Narrative, &c. 135.

“appeared to want animal courage, for they
“flocked together to meet danger whenever it
“was expected. Had it pleased Heaven to be
“as liberal to them of brains as of hands, it is
“not easy to say to what length of mischief
“they might have proceeded ; but they were all
“along unprovided with leaders of any ability.”*

What most surprises me is, that these peasants, after having been so long drilled under the inspection of French officers, should yet not know how to take aim at an enemy. In his account of the retaking of Killala, the narrator says, “we kept our eyes on the rebels, who seemed
“to be posted with so much advantage behind
“the stone walls that lined the road. They
“levelled their pieces, fired very deliberately
“from each side on the advancing enemy ; yet,
“strange to tell ! were able only to kill one
“man, a corporal, and wound one common
“soldier. Their shot in general went over the
“heads of their opponents.”† The Wexfordian insurgents, without any superintendence of French officers, learned, by experience of combat, in a shorter time, to level their guns with more fatal effect.

Beside religious bigotry and the expectation of spoil, the narrator of Killala assigns other motives as inciting the rustics of his neighbour-

* Narrative, &c. p. 127. † Idem, p. 149.

hood to assume those arms, of which they made so ineffectual a use. Among these was their eagerness for the gaudy trappings of the French military dress, and for what was to them luxurious living ; objects doubtless of no small inducement to men unused to the comfort of even shoes and stockings, and to the relish of animal food ; such being the wretched condition of the peasantry in the west of Ireland ! “ It is a debt due to justice, however,” says the narrator, “ to observe, that if the first who joined the enemy were enticed by hope to a foreign standard, very many took the same road afterwards merely through fear. Great pains were employed by the early insurgents to frighten their neighbours into the same inclosure of peril with themselves, partly by the most horrid menaces in case of refusal to join the common cause, and partly by spreading lies of the protestants, whom they represented as orange-men, universally bent on the excision of the catholics.

“ When the united weight of so many temptations is duly estimated, operating besides on a body of peasantry already estranged from their protestant neighbours by difference of religion, language, and education, it will rather be matter of surprise that so little mischief was the result of the insurrection in Connaught, and that we had not the same horrid scenes of

"cruelty and religious intollerance to mourn
"over, as had lately stamped indelible disgrace
"on the eastern province. It is a circumstance
"worthy of particular notice, that during the
"whole time of this civil commotion, *not a drop*
"*of blood was shed by the Connaught rebels,*
"*except in the field of war.* It is true, the
"example and influence of the French went a
"great way to prevent sanguinary excesses.
"But it will not be deemed fair to ascribe to
"this cause alone the forbearance of which we
"were witnesses, when it is considered what a
"range of country lay at the mercy of the rebels
"for several days after the French power was
"known to be at an end.

"These reflections are offered to the public as
"an apology for the opinion of certain persons
"who became advocates for lenity, when, on
"the suppression of the rebellion, the treatment
"due to the insurgents was the subject of dis-
"cussion. Fire and sword was the language of
"gentlemen, whose loss by the war, though
"grievous and highly provoking, was only the loss
"of property. Milder sentiments may reason-
"ably be allowed to have place in bosoms which
"had throbbled with the apprehension of a greater
"mischief than spoilation. Experience had
"taught them that life is the first of worldly
"possessions; and having saved that blessing
"themselves, they could not be in haste to

“ravish it from others. Indeed where there had
“appeared all along so few traces of rancour in
“these poor country folk, it was impossible for
“a spectator of their actions not to pity them
“for their very simplicity.”*

To account in some degree for the small portion of rancour in the western comparatively with the south-eastern insurgents, we are to observe, that in the territories of the former those rigorous measures had not been practised; which government had been forced elsewhere to authorise for the disorganization of the united conspiracy; for surely the free-quartering of soldiers, the burning of houses, and the infliction of torture to extort confession, together with the unauthorised insults committed by mistaken or pretended zealots for loyalty, as croppings, pitch-cappings, and half-hangings, must, whether necessary or not, whether deserved or not, be expected to kindle a spirit of revenge in the sufferers and their party. The bitter sufferings, however, attendant on rebellion, of which these western peasants had before been ignorant, they were now by their folly doomed to experience in a considerable degree. More they might have experienced, if the weather had permitted the troops to keep the field; but the winter approached. “General Trench therefore made

* Narrative, &c. p. 26—30.

“haste to clear the wild districts of the Laggan
“and Erris, by pushing detachments into each;
“who were able to do little more than to burn
“a number of cabins; for the people had too many
“hiding places to be easily overtaken. Enough
“however was effected to impress upon the minds
“of the sufferers a conviction, that joining with
“the enemies of their country against their
“lawful sovereign was not a matter of so little
“moment, as they had ignorantly imagined;
“and probably the memory of what they have
“now endured will not be effaced for years.
“There are, I know,” adds the candid narrator;
“who think differently, who say these moun-
“taineers will be always ripe for insurrection;
“and who urge in proof the mischief they have
“done very lately by robbing, and houghing of
“cattle: Yet surely our common nature will
“incline us to make some concession to the
“feelings of men driven, though by their
“own fault, from their farms and their dwellings;
“wretched dwellings to be sure, but to them—
“(that poor fellow’s lesson to the bishop * is
“worth remembering!) to them as valuable as
“to the grandee his palace. Let a man look
“round from the summit of one of those moun-
“tains that guard our island against the incur-
“sions of the Atlantic, and say what he should

* See page 324 of this work.

“ think of passing a winter among them without
“ the covering of a hut.”*

The evils of civil warfare belong not exclusively to the vanquished: the victorious party also must feel some portion of the general misfortune. In his relation of affairs subsequent to the arrival of the king's troops, the narrator says,
“ If the people of Killala were distressed to find
“ accommodation for the multitude of officers
“ that now poured in upon them, they experienced yet greater inconvenience from the
“ predatory habits of the soldiery. The regiments that came to their assistance, being all
“ militia, seemed to think they had a right to
“ take the property they had been the means of
“ preserving, and to use it as their own, whenever they stood in need of it. Their rapacity
“ differed in no respect from that of the rebels,
“ except that they seized upon things with less of
“ ceremony and excuse, and that his majesty's
“ soldiers were incomparably superior to the Irish
“ traitors in dexterity at stealing. In consequence, the town very soon grew weary of their
“ guests, and were glad to see them march off
“ to other quarters. It is but justice to the regiment that has remained at Killala ever since,
“ the prince of Wales's fencibles, to acknowledge
“ that they *always behaved themselves with the*

* Narrative, &c. p. 166—168.

“ *greatest propriety*, under the orders of those
 “ two excellent officers, lieutenant-colonel Ma-
 “ cartney and major Winstanley. Let it be re-
 “ membered also, to the honour of our excellent
 “ chief governor, that as soon as the country
 “ was reduced to quiet, marquis Cornwallis sent
 “ two commissioners to Killala and its vicinity,
 “ for the express purpose of ascertaining the
 “ damages done by the king’s troops, and that,
 “ in March following, all authenticated claims
 “ on that account were discharged in full by an
 “ order on the national bank.”* Doubtless the
 truly noble marquis would, if in his power, have
 prevented the occasion of those claims, well
 knowing that predatory troops, while they are
 noxious to those whom they are designed to
 protect, are, at the same time, from that mean-
 ness of spirit and want of substantial discipline,
 which indulgence of plunder always implies,
 unfit to cope with a well-disciplined enemy.†
 An intelligent officer, engaged in the attack of
 Killala, assured me that, in his opinion, our
 troops would have been repulsed, if the rebels
 had been supported by even fifty French sol-
 diers; so extremely irregular was the onset of
 our army. After the battle, a loyalist, in what

* Narrative, &c. p. 163, 164.

† *Predator ex sociis, et ipse preda hostium*, says the concise
 and elegant Sallust concerning a despicable army.

are called coloured clothes, who had served as a guide to the Kerry militia, was observed among a number of these by a mixed body of Armagh and Downshire militia. These immediately, regarding him as a rebel because he wanted uniform, levelled their guns at him, swearing that they would fire at him among the Kerrymen, if the latter would not dispatch him; and this they were obliged to do to save themselves.

How far the following fact may be regarded as marking a defect of discipline, I leave to the reader's judgment. The narrator of Killala, after the mention of the return of Arthur Stock, a son of the bishop, to his father's dwelling with general Trench's army, says: "Charost expressed
"as much joy at seeing Arthur safe, as if he had
"himself been one of the family. Yet the poor
"commandant had no reason to be pleased with
"the treatment he had received immediately after
"the action. He had returned to the castle for
"his sabre, and advanced with it to the gate in
"order to deliver it up to some English officer,
"when it was seized and forced from his hand
"by a common soldier of Frazer's. He came
"in, got another sword, which he surrendered
"to an officer, and turned to re-enter the hall.
"At this moment, a second Highlander burst
"through the gate, in spite of the sentinel
"placed there by the general, and fired at the
"commandant with an aim that was near prov-

“ing fatal, for the ball passed under his arm,
“piercing a very thick door entirely through,
“and lodging in the jamb. Had we lost the
“worthy man by such an accident, his death
“would have spoiled the whole relish of our pre-
“sent enjoyment. He complained, and received
“an apology for the soldier’s behaviour from his
“officer. Leave was immediately granted to
“the three French officers to keep their swords,
“their effects, and even their bed-chamber in
“the house.”*

The latter part of the story is honourable to our officers, and the sequel is honourable to the Irish administration and the British government. The Irish administration was pleased to forward the French officers immediately “to London, “giving them what money they wanted for their “draft on the commissary of prisoners, Niou. “From London the bishop had a letter from the “committee for taking care of French prisoners, “desiring to be informed in what manner he “and his family had been treated by the French “officers; and on the bishop’s report, an order “was obtained that citizens Charost, Boudet, “and Ponson, should be set at liberty, and sent “home without exchange. Niou, the French “commissary, refused on the part of his govern- “ment to accept of this mark of respect from

* Narrative, &c. p. 157, 158.

“our ministry, saying, that the directory could not avail themselves of so polite an offer, because their officers at Killala had only done their duty, and no more than what any Frenchman would have done in the same situation. “It will depend,” says the judicious narrator, “on the particular temper of the critic, whether he shall call this answer magnanimous, or a childish gasconade.”* Whether gasconade or not, it was a recommendation of humanity and politeness to his countrymen; and to emulate the French in this respect would be honourable to any soldiery or any people.

Very different in character, as has been hinted already, from the French officers, were the chiefs of the rebels, whose trials by court-martial commenced at Killala on the 24th of September. The first persons tried were Bellew and Richard Bourke, formerly mentioned, who were found guilty that evening. “Contemptible for drunkenness and vulgar manners, they fell without exciting a sentiment of compassion, Roger M’Guire,” says the narrator, “our late ambassador to Castlebar, occasioned some delay. “It was urged in his favour, particularly by dean Thompson, that in their late journey he had often heard him speak to the people in favour of pacific measures and of lenity to the pro-

* Narrative, &c. p. 157—161.

“testants. On the other hand, general Trench
“and his officers could not readily forget the
“insolent behaviour of this young fellow at
“Castlebar, under which assumed carriage he
“strove to conceal his apprehension of danger,
“when he was so grievously, and indeed so in-
“considerately threatened by Mr. Dennis Browne
“and others, on his entering the town.” Incon-
siderate indeed must have been this threatening,
adapted plainly, though doubtless not intended,
to cause the massacre of the protestants of Killala,
including the bishop and his family. This man,
however, whose embassy had contributed to save
the lives of so many protestants, was not put to
death. He was, after a long imprisonment,
“transmitted to Castlebar, where at last he re-
“ceived sentence to be transported to Botany-
“bay.”*

Numbers of other chiefs and inferior insur-
gents were tried and executed here and else-
where.—Among these, particular notice and par-
ticular compassion are due to two men, who,
Irishmen by birth, had been in the military
service of France before the invasion, had come
into Ireland in the French fleet, and had, as well
as the best of the French officers, used the most
active exertions to save the lives and properties
of loyalists. These were Bartholomew Teeling

* Narrative, &c. p. 165, 166.

and Matthew Tone, whose generous humanity made evident in their trials, and steady fortitude under sentence and execution, command our pity; and for their personal qualities our esteem. They were tried in Dublin barrack, and executed—the former on the 24th of September, the latter a few days after.

- The famous Theobald Wolfe Tone, captured in a French vessel, in an expedition to the coast of Ireland still more abortive than that of Humbert, survived not long his brother Matthew. The little army of Humbert had been intended only to be a vanguard of a much more formidable force, which was in a short time to follow. Providentially for the safety of the British empire, the French administrators were as tardy in seconding the operations of Humbert, as they had been in seconding those of the southern rebels of Ireland. The want of money is assigned as the cause of delay in the equipment of the second fleet, and in the interim, before its appearance on the Irish coast, a brig from France arrived at the little isle of Rutland, near the north-west coast of Donegal, on the 16th of September, and landed its crew; among whom was James Napper Tandy, formerly mentioned in this work, now bearing the title of general of brigade in the French service. Informed of the surrender of Humbert's troops, and unable to excite an insurrection by their manifestoes in that quarter,

they re-embarked, and abandoned the shores of Ireland. Tandy was afterwards arrested at Hamburg by some British agents. In this action the dignity of a neutral state was contemptuously violated, and the influence of the emperor of Russia was solicited and obtained to intimidate the Hamburgers into an acquiescence in this violation, which exposed them at the same time to the resentment of the French government. So mighty a fuss about such an object, such a mountain in labour, confirmed many in an opinion of a puerile weakness in the British ministers. Tandy was tried at Lifford, at the Spring assizes for 1801; and pleading guilty, received his Majesty's pardon on condition of emigration; in consequence of which he has emigrated to France. At length, at the end of September, sailed the principal armament from Brest, consisting of one ship of the line and eight frigates, having on board, as was reported, four or five thousand soldiers, and destined for the coast of Donegal. Descried in their approach to that coast, on the 11th of October, by a British squadron, under Sir John Borlase Warren, and overtaken the next morning, a desperate battle commenced, which continued from half an hour after seven in the forenoon till eleven, when the ship of the line, named the *Hoche*, was captured, and the frigates made sail to escape. In a running fight of about five hours,

three of these became prizes, and three others afterwards; two only of the squadron escaping to France.

A smaller fleet, destined to co-operate with the above, consisting of the three frigates which had before come with Humbert, carrying a land-force of two thousand men, anchored in the bay of Killala on the 27th of October, but on the appearance of some British ships of war, made sail with precipitation for France, without landing the troops, and escaped after a long chase. The commanders of these forces had orders to send the bishop of Killala and his family prisoners to France, and, if they should meet with opposition in landing, to lay the town in ashes. The cause of this unmerited severity was an unfounded opinion entertained by the French administrators, that the bishop had betrayed the town to the King's troops, together with a deposit of two hundred and eighty barrels of gunpowder, partly buried under a hot-bed in his garden, partly in a vault in the haggard under a corn-stand. The powder could not be concealed from the King's officers, even if the bishop had thought it his duty to attempt it; but its removal was anxiously wished, since the town with all its contents had three times been in danger of annihilation by the approach of fire to this terrible mass, the shock of whose explosion must have had the most ruinous effect.

On board the *Hoche*, in the action with admiral Warren, was found Theobald Wolfe Tone, whose activity and talents had contributed to give life to a formidable conspiracy, which received a deadly wound by the miscarriage of the French armament, and which can hardly be said to have survived his fate. Tried by a court-martial in the capital, he rested his defence on his being a denizen of France, an officer in the service of that country, and pretended not to deny the charge against him, nor even to excuse his political conduct. Found guilty, he requested the indulgence of being shot as a soldier, instead of being ignominiously hanged as a felon; and, on the refusal of this request, cut his own throat in the prison. The operation being incompletely performed, hopes were entertained of his recovery; and on the next morning John Philpot Curran, Esq. the famous barrister, made a motion in the court of King's Bench for a writ of habeas corpus in his favour, upon the ground that 'courts-martial have no jurisdiction over subjects not in military service while the court of King's Bench is sitting.' After a full discussion of the subject the plea was admitted; but, from the condition of Tone, his removal from prison, according to the writ, was deemed unsafe, and he shortly after died from the self-inflicted wound.

With the reduction of the ravaging bands in

the mountains of Wicklow, under Holt and Hacket, already mentioned, the last professed champions in arms of the united conspiracy, and with the death of Tone, its chief original projector, ended a rebellion, of which the deep and artful scheme demonstrated the ability, but the immediate consequences, the ignorance of its authors with respect to the instruments which they were obliged to employ. Since from experience of this event civil wars in any part of Ireland, except some northern counties, must, from whatsoever causes excited, be justly expected to assume a religious complexion of the most bloody hue. Irish protestants ought to be convinced that the political separation of their country from Britain by a popular insurrection must involve their extinction, and that consequently an infrangibly determined adherence to their British connexion is necessary for their safety. Some extraordinary circumstances, we must allow, restrained the insurgents of Connaught from proceeding to religious murder; but doubtless, if they had continued much longer in power, agitators like Dixon of Wexford would have gained an ascendancy, and scenes of blood would have succeeded those of devastation.

Unhappily for themselves and their country, so inveterately rooted are the prejudices of religious antipathy in the minds of the lower

classes of Irish Romanists, that in any civil war, however originating from causes unconnected with religion, not all the efforts of their gentry, or even priests, to the contrary, could, if I am not exceedingly mistaken, restrain them from converting it into a religious quarrel. This generation at least must pass away before the religious hatred, and notions of exclusive right to divine favour, deeply imbibed from the clergy of older times, could be removed, or in civil commotions be effectually restrained, by the clergy of the present time, supposing their wishes and efforts the most earnest and liberal. I shall quote from the judicious narrator of Killala what he has said concerning the Romish clergy of Ireland, since he has expressed my ideas on the subject better than I myself could.

“What powerful motive could prevail on this
 “order of men to lend their hearts and hands to
 “a revolution, which so manifestly threatened to
 “overwhelm their own credit and consequence,
 “supposing even that they were indifferent to
 “the fate of that religion of which they professed
 “themselves to be the consecrated ministers? I will tell the reader what I conceive
 “to be the true key to this mystery, if I may
 “have his pardon for the digression.

“The almost total dependence of the clergy
 “of Ireland upon their people for the means of
 “subsistence, is the cause, according to my best

"judgment, why upon every popular commotion
 "many priests of that communion have been,
 "and until measures of better policy are adopted,
 "always will be found in the ranks of sedition
 "and opposition to the established government.
 "*The peasant will love a revolution because he*
 "*feels the weight of poverty, and has not often*
 "*the sense to perceive that a change of masters*
 "*may render it heavier.* The priest must follow
 "the impulse of the popular wave, or be left
 "behind on the beach to perish. There was a
 "time indeed, when superstition was of force to
 "uphold the credit and revenues of the church
 "of Rome, even where convulsions shook to
 "pieces the fabric of civil government. But
 "the reign of superstition is either past or
 "passing: at least, if it holds the *mind* of the
 "believer, it is not by many degrees so effectual
 "as formerly to open his *purse*. Holy oil, and
 "indulgences, and absolutions, have fallen much
 "in their price; confessions are, comparatively
 "speaking, unproductive; and even the golden
 "mine of purgatory seems to be running to a
 "thread. Voluntary contribution, the main
 "resource of the priest, must depend on his po-
 "pularity. 'Live with me, and live as I do.
 "Oppress me not with superior learning or re-
 "finement. Take thankfully what I choose to
 "to give you, and earn it by compliance with
 "my political ~~order~~ and conduct.' -- Such, when

"justly translated, is the language of the Irish
 "cottage to his priest. It is language which
 "will be listened to in proportion to the exigency
 "of the case. A sturdy moralist will do his
 "duty in despite of penury. Admirable, and
 "not to be looked for among the common herd
 "of mankind, is the virtue which can withstand
 "the menace of absolute want of bread.—The
 "remedy for this defect, in the present political
 "system of Ireland, should seem to be as easy as
 "it is obvious. But it is not for a private in-
 "dividual to suggest to our enlightened legisla-
 "ture either the time or the measure in which
 "such a remedy ought to be applied."*

Though I think that the influence of the
 Romish clergy in Ireland is at present insufficient
 either to prevent or excite a rebellion of any
 moment, yet I rejoice to find that government
 intends, by the provision of a decent mainte-
 nance, to render this order of men independent
 of the laity, since this must augment in their
 own eyes, and those of others, the respectability
 of their station, and may incline them to con-
 tribute, by the adoption of a more liberal plan
 of conduct, to the removal of those unchristian
 sentiments of religious intolerance, and those
 blind attachments in their followers to foreign
 powers in preference to the British government,

to which sources are in great measure to be attributed the poverty and misery of their country. Of the miseries occasioned to Irish Romanists by these causes, a hideous catalogue might be easily collected from the authentic records of this island.

Relying on the protection of the pope and of Spain, great numbers rose in arms against the government of Elizabeth, and long maintained a war against that princess, till reduced in strength and numbers by unutterable calamities, the consequences of the war, or, as Sir John Davis has expressed it, "brayed, as it were, in "a mortar, with sword, famine, and pestilence "together," the miserable remnant fell an unresisting prey to the conquerors, notwithstanding Spanish and Italian succours. The ghastly forms of death by which many thousands perished, and great part of the country was wasted, would furnish mournful matter for many pages. "No spectacle," says Morrisson, in his history of Ireland, "was more frequent in the ditches of "towns, and especially in wasted countries, "than to see multitudes of these poor people "dead, with their mouths all coloured green by "eating nettles, docks, and all things they could "rend up above ground." Many to appease the rage of hunger devoured human carcases, of which a horrid instance was witnessed by Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Morrisson, and

other officers of the queen's troops, who beheld three children, the eldest of whom was not above ten years of age, in the act of eating the flesh of their deceased mother! with circumstances too shocking for a particular statement here."*

A like desolation, with scenes of death by plague and outrageous famine, followed in its course the rebellion of 1641. "About the year "1652 and 1653," says an author, who was an ocular witness of the state of things, "the "plague and famine had so swept away whole "counties, that a man might travel twenty or "thirty miles, and not see a living creature. "Our soldiers would tell stories of the places "where they saw a smoke; it was rare to see "either smoke by day, or fire or candle by "night; and when we did meet with two or "three poor cabins, none but very aged men, "and women and children (and these with the "prophet might have complained, 'we are be- "come as a bottle in the smoke, our skin is "black like an oven, because of the terrible fa- "mine') were found in them. I have seen those "miserable creatures plucking stinking carrion "out of a ditch, black and rotten; and have "been credibly informed that they digged "corpses out of the grave to eat." He then informs us of an officer, who with a party of

men found in the night a ruined cabin, "where" "they saw a great fire of wood, and a company" "of miserable old women and children sitting" "round about it, and betwixt them and the fire" "a dead corpse lay broiling, which as the fire" "roasted they cut off collops and eat."*

Similar scenes of desolation and famine would have doubtless followed the rebellion of 1798, if by a concurrence of lucky incidents its extension and continuance had not been prevented. At this prevention the Romanists of Ireland would surely rejoice, if matters were by them viewed in a clear and pure light. Supposing the insurrection completely successful in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, how formidable an opposition was to be expected from the protestants of Ulster, aided by British forces, when the war was once known to be decidedly religious? Happily intelligence of the religious insanity exhibited by the southerners was received soon enough in the north to prevent commotions of any moment in favour of rebellion in that quarter. Supposing all Ireland reduced under the power of the insurgents, the British forces expelled, and the protestants exterminated by death or exile, was no discord with probability to be expected among the various bodies of insurgents, which might favour the return and

* Col. Lawrence's Interest of Ireland, part ii. page 374.

successful progress of British armies? The very high probability of such discord is evinced by experience in the events of times past, in the civil wars of this unhappily often distracted country.

Thus when O'Nial, earl of Tyrone, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, flushed with temporary success, conceived strong hopes of being able to effectuate a separation of Ireland from the English dominion, he and his followers were unable to conceal the design which they entertained, of exterminating all in this kingdom of English race, not excepting Romanists—not even those who were fighting under his own banners against the protestant government. What discord must not such a spirit produce if the terror of the queen's arms had once been completely, or even nearly removed? The same spirit revived with such force in the time of Charles I. when the expectations of the Irish Romanists ran high in the prevalence of their power, that their armies were ready to turn their swords one against another, notwithstanding that the issue of their contest with the protestant party was still uncertain. “The insolence of the followers of Owen O'Nial,” says an authentic historian, “who could not conceal the pride and prejudices of their ancient descent, and claimed the whole island as the property of the old Irish, filled the confederates with

“fears and discontents. Those of Leinster, and
 “all the catholics of English race, dreaded ex-
 “tirpation from these savages. So that the body
 “of Irish insurgents, who had given such con-
 “sequence and such dignity to their original
 “conspiracy, who had extorted the most abject
 “condescensions from the king, and prescribed
 “law to his lieutenant, was now on the point
 “of breaking into virulent factions, and de-
 “claring desperate war against each other.”*

The distinction indeed between Irish of abo-
 riginal and English descent is, from the blending
 of the races, long since lost, as Dr. Duigenan,
 in his most excellent pamphlet already noticed,
 has observed, and as I also have observed in
 another work :† but would not other causes of
 jealousy and dissension have arisen, and encreased
 with the prospect of success, among rival chiefs
 and rival armies, when, even in the recent in-
 surrection, a private enmity between two chiefs
 of the Wexfordian insurgents prevented the
 seizure of Ross, and a most dangerous exten-
 sion of the rebellion to the counties of Water-
 ford and Kilkenny?‡ Supposing a most im-
 probable continuance of concord, together with

* Leland's history of Ireland, book v. chap. 7. Also book 6
 chap. 3. Also Carte's Ormond, vol. i. p. 589.

† Gordon's Terraquea, vol. iii. p. 322, 323.

‡ See page 141 of this work.

of complete expulsion of the British power, what rueful havoc might be expected from British armaments, hovering round the coast, and seizing every favourable opportunity of descent? The maritime towns might be laid in rubbish; and armies, occasionally debarking in various parts of the blockaded island, might carry devastation far into the country, and re-embark, before sufficient bodies of troops could be collected at the necessary points to attack them with effect. After disease and famine should so desolate the land that another Sir William Petty might calculate its population at eleven hundred thousand, the government of France, in a treaty of peace with that of Britain, would probably, if even French armies were in possession of the country, relinquish Ireland for the restitution of the French settlements in the East and West Indies, and other valuable considerations. Thus might the remnant of those Irish, who had given cause for the desolation of their country, in their attempts to accomplish its political separation from Britain, be reduced to the alternative of emigrating with the French troops, or of remaining exposed to the vengeance of the British government at home.

In May 1798, a little before the eruption of the rebellion, I wrote an Address to the *Men of Ireland*, calculated to the best of my knowledge, to dissuade the United Irish from the pursuit of

their design, by representing, as well as I could, conjecture, the probable consequences of their attempt, some of which have since literally taken place. I was emboldened to hope for some small success in that publication, by my having reason to think that I had, by the same arguments in a private conversation, induced a few to abandon all connexion with the united society. But, as in the introductory part of the address, I expressed, though in gentle terms, my disapprobation of the conduct of the British ministry, in having precipitately, as I thought, involved the nation in a war with France, the conductors of newspapers were afraid to insert it, so irritable and so arbitrary did they seem to conceive the members of administration at that time to be. A bookseller, who was pleased with the arguments, printed a few copies to distribute among his friends, but would not publish for the above reasons. This appeared to me a most wretched compliment to government, a compliment of which I should be most heartily sorry to think it worthy, that a writer could not safely publish arguments to dissuade his fellow-subjects from rebellion, without writing in such a manner as to render his arguments of no effect, by giving cause to suspect that he was either a servile tool of administration, or a despicably blind follower of its politics. Of making such a compliment I hope I shall ever find myself incapable. The

consideration of my being a decided friend to genuine liberty, and no admirer in general of the foreign politics of ministers, was what had given weight to my arguments in private conversation.

The evil consequences of this rebellion, some of which were predicted, and more could have been predicted, in the above-mentioned address, were, notwithstanding the small extent and duration of armed opposition to government, too many to be distinctly particularised. To the general mass of evils, of some of which a faint idea may be formed from the foregoing pages, a corruption of morals in the disturbed parts made a lamentable addition. To dwell on the sad propensity to extortion, cheating, pilfering, and robbing, acquired or encouraged by a temporary dissolution of civil government; on the practice of perjury and bribery in the accusation and defence of real or supposed criminals; and of perjury in claims of losses, even by persons who might well be supposed superior to such meanness, laying aside religious considerations, would be attended with more pain than utility. Even dissipation, which might reasonably be expected to be checked by the calamities attendant on this cruel commotion, seemed to revive with augmented force on the subsiding of the insurrection. Collected in taverns, in the following winter, many of the lower sort of loyalists spent the days in drunkenness, and their superiors the nights in late suppers and

riotous conviviality. One good consequence, however, of their assembling in towns was the promotion of matrimony. Young people of the two sexes being brought together, who might otherwise have remained unacquainted one with another, an extraordinary number of marriages took place, as if Providence intended thus to repair the waste of civil war.

A consequence of immensely greater and more general importance resulted from the experience of misery in our civil distractions, and a sense of the danger which we providentially escaped, of still far greater misery; a consequence, I sincerely hope, of such utility as may prove well worth its purchase by all the calamities which our island has suffered by a short-lived and local rebellion. A legislative union of Britain and Ireland, or a political incorporation of the two kingdoms into one, an incorporation which might remove the baneful jealousies arising from national distinctness, the danger of a fatal rupture of the political connexion of the two islands, and the great inconvenience of a system of two distinct legislatures nominally independent each of the other, but one of them practically in subjection to the other, had long been wished by some reflecting men among the Irish, who preferred the substantial interests of Ireland, and of the British empire in general, to the gratification of strangely mistaken national pride, and

petty personal and local advantages. But so odious was the measure to multitudes, whose pride or private interest, real or imaginary, was engaged, that it could not with the smallest probability of success be proposed, until prejudice was in some degree overcome by the calamities and dangers of the rebellion. The consideration of the important subject was recommended by his majesty to the British and Irish parliaments in the beginning of the year 1799, and in order to give ample time for reflection, the actual proposal of the question was deferred to the following year, the last of the eighteenth century, when it passed into a law with (in the Irish house) a furious but feeble opposition.

Partial inconveniences must doubtless arise from so great a change in the state of Ireland. Even in my own order, we must expect more numerous instances than ever of the preference of Englishmen to natives of superior merit, in the disposal of ecclesiastical benefices. Though I should heartily wish the matter otherwise, yet I ought not, by such a consideration, to be in the least influenced against a measure, which, by a concentration of all the legislative powers of the British empire, promises concord, strength, and stability to the whole. When, by the natural course of events, the great continental powers of Europe are growing into enormous magnitude by the absorption of the weaker states, what have

the British islands to preserve their independence, but their aqueous barriers, firm union at home, and a wholesome system of government, promotive particularly of agriculture, the great source of national wealth for the maintenance of fleets and armies?

Much work indeed is left for the imperial parliament, to attach the mass of the Irish peasantry to the constitution. This cannot be effected so long as the peasants are physically miserable. In my humble opinion, those taxes ought to be abolished which fall heavily on this description of men. Since the rents of lands, which are in general dreadfully severe on the Irish peasants, cannot be limited by law, long tenures ought to be enacted, which might encourage them to improve their grounds, so as to rise into a more comfortable condition, and augment at the same time the national riches. I should also wish a fair and equitable commutation of tithes, or such modification of them as would relieve the industrious cultivator, by obliging the lazy grazier, and the idle esquire, to bear a just proportion of the burthen. These hints may appear presumptuous from an obscure individual; but I conceive it to be the duty of every writer, who on reflection is strongly biassed in favour of the utility of a measure for the welfare of his country, to give his opinion freely to the public. That some defects must have existed in the system might,

I should think, appear from the disturbances which have had place at several times among the peasants of Ireland; as the open, yet almost bloodless insurrection of men stiling themselves *Hearts of Oak*, in the year 1763, in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, and Derry—men of all sects of religion indiscriminately; the more bloody insurrection of the *Hearts of Steel*, ten years afterwards, in the counties of Antrim and Derry, mostly protestants, irritated to violence by exactions of rents and fines of leases on the estate of the earl of Donegal; and the nocturnal outrages committed many years in the south by the *Whiteboys*, particularly in the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny. Neither is emigration to America, from an island which could easily maintain double the number of its present inhabitants by a due cultivation and improvement of its lands, a very favourable symptom. What revenue might Ireland contribute for the support of the British power under proper encouragements of industry, when under many discouragements her annual revenue to the crown has risen from less than ten thousand pounds, in the fourteenth century,* to near six millions, or six hundred fold, at the close of the eighteenth?

One of the happiest consequences reasonably expected to arise, in course of time, from the

* Leland's history of Ireland, book ii. chap. 5.

abolition of our national distinctness, the removal of our local parliament, and its incorporation with that of Britain, is the subsidence of that rancorous spirit of religious animosity, which has been the parent of so much mischief to this island. We hope, as the measure cannot now be attended with any danger, to see shortly so complete an emancipation of the catholics, that modes of metaphysical credence shall no longer be a barrier against political capacity and civil right. This subject is well worthy of consideration in the imperial parliament, where, doubtless, as in a truly protestant assembly, the question will be decided in the spirit of liberality, justice, and true policy ; over-ruling by an august determination the ominous croakings of little bigots ; men, who, to retain a monopoly of power, scrupled not, in the public legislature, to traduce the conduct and character of their countrymen.* Such a measure would most powerfully tend to the gradual extinction of religious animosity and local faction : but so violently are the minds of men prejudiced at present by the rage of civil and religious dissension, that a candid narration

* A returning spirit of regulated liberty has already, notwithstanding the spasmodic struggles of a dark and inveterate faction, ejected from the representation of his country a man, who, at a distance from detection, in his capacity of imperial senator, uttered without shame what he well knew to be contrary to the truth.

of Irish affairs for some years past must inevitably give offence to every party, and the narrator, in the words of no mean historian, "must be "armed against censure only by an integrity "which confines him to truth, and a literary "courage which despises every charge but that "of wilful or careless misrepresentation."* To this little work I must expect contradictory objections far more acrimonious than those which have been made to my former, composed on a subject little interesting to the passions of adverse factions—*Terraquea, or a System of Geography and Modern History*.

To the *Terraquea* some *wise heads* have objected, that it is a compilation from other writers, as truly it is from some hundreds. I am sorry that the same objection inevitably lies against this little history also, the sphere of which is so extremely narrow in comparison of that of the other. Since unfortunately I could find no supernatural means of either being present in all the scenes of action, nor of having those actions revealed to me by spiritual vision or otherwise, I was obliged to have recourse to the *vulgar* mode of compilation; and have accordingly compiled from such oral, manuscript, and even printed, information, as I could procure on the subject. To discern and

* Leland's history of Ireland, prel. discourse, p. 3.

select the true state of facts from these materials, was not found void of difficulty. In ten or twelve accounts of the same action, I have found no two to agree, except in a few points; and I am sorry to say, that even contradictory affidavits might be procured in lamentable plenty. But how far soever objectors may contradict one another with respect to my statement of facts, they will probably all agree with respect to my stile. That of the Terraquea has by some been pronounced too high for the subject; by others too low and jejune. Which of the two sorts of objectors has judged rightly in this case, I cannot pretend to determine; but I am much inclined to the opinion of a gentleman who said, that of the two he thought the former less actuated by envy or malignity than the latter. In the stile of this local history, I feel myself perfectly secure from the former species of critics, as its humility is unquestionable. *Serpit humi, tutus nimium timidusque procellæ.*

In my statement of facts I shall be accused as a favourer of loyalists and rebels, of orangemen and croppies, of heretics and papists; and I must acknowledge, not without some justice, as I love my countrymen of every sect and party, and most heartily wish them to act in a manner the most conducive to their own happiness, to cultivate Christian charity and friendship among themselves, and with the inhabitants of their

great sister island, their fellow-subjects and natural associates.

Whatever may have been my feelings for the sufferings of others, I hope they have no where caused me to swerve from the line of truth. With respect to myself they ought not to be very acute, as I sustained no other loss, I fervently thank God, than that of property. Though my three youngest children fell into the hands of the rebels, they received no injury; and though my two eldest sons were engaged as yeomen against the Wexfordian rebels in several most dangerous conflicts, they escaped without a wound. One part, indeed, of my loss of property was grievous—books, which I cannot for a time replace, necessary for the finishing of my historico-geographical work; and manuscripts which never can be replaced, particularly that of a history of the British islands, which I had carried near its conclusion, and in which I had paid extraordinary attention to stile and arrangement.—But, though I am not sensible of misrepresentation through resentment or prejudice, and have stated the facts to the best of my judgment, yet many involuntary errors may be found in the foregoing pages; and to any persons who shall have convincingly corrected them, whether in a decorous or acrimonious manner, I shall acknowledge my obligation; but of unfounded censure, or declamatory non-

sense, I hope I shall not so debase myself as to take any notice; but treat its authors, as I would, in similar circumstances, the loquacious females of the fish-market, with a contemptuous silence.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

SUMMONS TO THE COMMANDER OF THE GARRISON OF ROSS.

SIR,

As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town. Your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controuled if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

I am, Sir,

B. B. HARVEY,

Camp at Corbet-hill, half
past three o'clock, morning,
June 5, 1798.

General, commanding, &c. &c.

GENERAL ORDERS ISSUED IN CONSEQUENCE
OF THE DEFEAT AT ROSS, AND THE MASSA-
CRE AT SCULLABOGUE.

At a meeting of the general and several officers of the united army of the county of Wexford, the following resolutions were agreed upon :

Resolved, that the commander-in-chief shall send guards to certain baronies, for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering and delaying at home, or elsewhere ; and if any resistance be given to those guards, so to be sent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our desire and orders, that such persons so giving resistance shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose ; and all such persons found to be so loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and chosen from among the commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death.

Resolved, that all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not to depart therefrom under pain of death, unless authorised to quit by written orders from the commander-in-chief for that purpose.

It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept

in the rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement; and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding such engagement.

All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and punished according to their sentence.

It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters when they have been halted by the commander-in-chief, shall suffer death, unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

It is ordered by the commander-in-chief, that all persons who have stolen or taken away any horse or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp, at head quarters; otherwise for any horse that shall be seen or found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, that person shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death:

And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought into head quarters, or returned immediately to the houses or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

It is also resolved, that any person or persons who shall take upon them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit

any plunder, without special written orders from the commander-in-chief, shall suffer death..

By order of

B. B. HARVEY, Commander-in-chief,
FRANCIS BREEN, Sec. and Adj.

Head-quarters, Carrickburn
camp, June 6, 1798.

For the same purpose was issued the following proclamation.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Countrymen and fellow-soldiers !

YOUR patriotic exertions in the cause of your country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine expectations, and in a short time must ultimately be crowned with success. Liberty has raised her drooping head : thousands daily flock to her standard : the voice of her children every where prevails. Let us then, in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary measures which of late were but too often resorted to by the creatures of government, to keep the people in slavery.

Nothing now, my countrymen, appears necessary to secure the conquests you have so bravely won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs ; for, through a want of proper subordination and discipline, all may be endangered.

At this eventful period, all Europe must admire, and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroic acts achieved by people strangers to military tactics, and having few professional commanders : but what power can resist men fighting for liberty !

In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarnished with any wanton act of cruelty : many of those unfortunate men now in prison were not your enemies from principle ; most of them, compelled by necessity, were obliged to oppose you : neither let a difference in religious sentiments cause a difference among the people. Recur to the debates in the Irish house of lords of the 19th of February last ; you will there see a patriotic and enlightened protestant bishop, with manly eloquence, pleading for catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments of the lord chancellor, and the powerful opposition of his fellow-courtiers.

To promote a union of brotherhood and affection among our countrymen of all religious persuasions has been our principal object : we have sworn in the most solemn manner, have associated for this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall shake our resolution.

To my protestant soldiers, I feel much in-

debted for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause.

EDWARD ROCHE.

Wexford, June 7th, 1798.

These orders and proclamations were vain. The following is a letter from Bagenal Harvey to Mr. Francis Glasscott, who had written to him for his protection.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter; but what to do for you I know not. I from my heart wish to protect all property; I can scarce protect myself; and indeed my situation is much to be pitied, and distressing to myself. I took my present situation in hopes of doing good, and preventing mischief, my trust is in Providence: I acted always an honest disinterested part; and had my advice been taken by those in power, the present mischief would never have arisen. If I can retire to a private station again, I will immediately. Mr. Tottenham's refusing to speak to the gentleman I sent into Ross, who was madly shot by the soldiers, was very unfortunate: it has set the people mad with rage, and there is no restraining them. The person I sent in had private instructions to propose a reconciliation; but God knows where this business

will end ; but end how it will, the good men of both parties will be inevitably ruined.

I am, with respect, yours, &c. &c.

June 8th, 1798.

B. B. HARVEY.

How far the shooting of men, bearing flags of truce, without orders from the commanding officer, may be consistent with strict military discipline, I shall not pretend to judge ; but certainly, a relaxation of discipline in the army was a matter on which the rebels had been instructed to rely for success, previously to the insurrection, by the chiefs of the conspiracy.

The following oaths, ordered to be administered to privates and officers among the rebels, proved as unavailing for the establishment of discipline among them, as the orders and proclamations of their generals.

OATH OF A PRIVATE.

I, * *, do solemnly and sincerely swear, and take God, and his only son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to witness, that I will at all times be obedient to the commands of my officers ; that I am ready to lay down my life for the good of my country ; that I have an aversion to plunder, and to the spilling of innocent blood ; that I will fight courageously in the field, and have mercy where it can be given ; that I will avoid drunkenness, tending to disorder and ruin ; that

I will endeavour to make as many friends and as few enemies, as possible ; that above all I detest a coward, and that I will look upon him as an enemy, who will stand back in the time of battle.—*So help me God !*

DATH ORDERED TO BE ADMINISTERED TO
OFFICERS.

IN the awful presence of God, who knows the heart and thoughts of all men, and calling my country to witness, I, * *, officer in * *, do solemnly swear, that I do not consider my life my own, when my country demands it ; that I consider that the present moment calls for a proof of the sincerity of that sentiment, and I am ready and desirous to stand the test ; and I do aver, that I am determined to die, or lead to victory ; and that all my actions shall be directed to the prosperity of the common cause, uninfluenced by any inferior motive ; and I further declare my utter aversion to all alarmists, union-breakers, and cowards, and my respect and obedience to the commands of superior officers.—*So help me God !*

By order of the council,

B. B. HARVEY, President.

NICHOLAS GREY, Sec.

Done at the council-chamber,
Wexford, June, 14, 1798.

NUMBER II.

EXTRACT FROM THE TRIAL OF WILLIAM
FENLON: COURT-MARTIAL AT WEXFORD,
SEPT. 12, 1799.

Mary Hall, sworn,

SAYS, that on the morning of the 14th of June, in the rebellion, she sent her son with some tea to her husband, who was the night before a prisoner with the rebels in Mr. Bayle's barn; that soon after her son returned, and told her that his father begged she would go up directly, for he had been taken to Vinegar-hill, and put into the mill, and was in fear of being immediately put to death; that she did go up, when her husband told her he was to be put to death; and, the prisoner then coming up, her husband said, "that's the man will kill me, Bill Fenlon, the nailor." The prisoner Fenlon then came into the mill, and desired her husband to come out. Witness immediately asked prisoner if he would not give her husband a trial. Prisoner said he would, but that Dan Flaherty, (a man who had sworn against her husband) should try him. Witness answered, she was contented, so he was tried, and begged he would have compassion on her and her ten children. The prisoner then said with an oath, that he would shoot him first, and try him after-

wards. Prisoner-then-tore her husband out of her arms, and placed sentries on each door to keep her within. In some time after, witness heard a shot, and forced her way out of the door, where she saw the rebels dragging a body by the heels. The prisoner was there with a blunderbuss and an officer's sash. The body they were dragging, she found, was her husband's. She took the body in her arms. During this time it thundered violently, with much lightning. The rebels fell on their knees, and blessed themselves. Some of them desired her to throw the body of her husband away, and bless herself. They then asked her what was the reason of the thunder? She answered, that God was angry at their acts. "No, you w—e," replied they; "God sounds the horn of joy that 'an orangeman is killed.'" Her husband then, whom she had thought dead, stretched out his feet, and turned to her, and said, "Molly, my dear, take me from these people," and then expired. The body of her husband was black, as if from the stripes of a cat-o-nine-tails, and the mark of a bullet that entered his breast and came out at his shoulder. The rebels, among whom was the prisoner, refused to let her take the body, but witness declared she would not leave it. They said they would not kill her, as she was with child, and she should have a christian, which

she never had before ; but if she was so fond of a dead husband, they would cut him into pound pieces, and put him into her skirts.

EXTRACT FROM THE TRIAL OF JOHN HAUGHRAN.

Sarah Smith, sworn,

SAYS, that on the 3d day of June, in the rebellion, a party of rebels came to her house at Salt-mills, near Tintern. That the prisoner was one of the party, and seemed to witness to be their leader. They asked for her husband, She told them he was not at home. They then passed her door, but the prisoner stopped them, and ordered them to go into the house and try. They went in, and brought out her husband, whom they left guarded, while they went to search for another protestant family. On their coming back, witness begged they would permit her husband to stop and get his breakfast ; but the prisoner said he should not stay ; and gave orders that he and all the protestants they could find that day should be brought to Scullabogue. — There were twenty-four young and old, of the parish of Tintern, sent there, and murdered on 5th of June, among whom was the husband, the brother, sister, and niece, of the witness. Witness received several orders from the prisoner relative to distributing milk, and never knew any one in command at Tintern except the prisoner. Once, on a complaint being made against her,

she went to the prisoner to know what she should do, who desired her to distribute the milk to the rebels every morning as far as it would go. When the account came to Tintern of the murders at Scullabogue, the widows and relatives of those that were murdered got together, and were lamenting in the street, when the prisoner came up to witness and said, if he heard any more of it, he would collect us all together, and send us after our husbands. A few days after, the prisoner gave a pass to witness to go and get herself christened, and told her they must all be of one religion, for it was that they were fighting for. The pass was signed by the prisoner. Witness never knew any one give a pass but the prisoner.

Catherine Poor, sworn.

Says, that she was a prisoner at Tintern, during the rebellion, and always understood that the prisoner was a captain and justice of peace: has heard the rebels call him captain. Witness went to get something to eat. He said he would not give her any unless she became a christian; for if he did, he should break his oath.

NUMBER III.

TRIAL OF ANDREW FARREL. WEXFORD,

MAY 22, 1800.

Major Gordon, of the Dumfries regiment, president, John Henry Lyster, Esq. acting judge advocate.

William Furlong, sworn.

Q. *by the prosecutor.* Did you know the Rev. Mr. Pentland?

A. I did.

Q. Is he living or dead?

A. He is dead?

Q. Do you know how he came by his death?

A. I was taken prisoner by the rebels on Whitsun Tuesday, and put into the wind-mill on Vinegar-hill, where I saw the Rev. Mr. Pentland, the Rev. Mr. Trocke, three men of the name of Gill, and about thirty more loyalists in custody of the rebels. The prisoner, Andrew Farrel, was there. The rebels called him captain Farrel, to which name he answered. He had a drawn sword in his hand. I heard him bid the loyalists fall on their knees, and prepare for death, as they should be killed directly. The prisoner then ordered out several of the loyalists, who were instantly murdered. In particular I saw him take Mr. Pentland by the breast, and by force put him out of the mill door, where he was instantly put to death. Mr. Pentland resisted

as much as he could. There were fourteen or fifteen murdered at that time. I saw their bodies lying dead when I got out. The prisoner came up to me, and told me, I must know where there were arms in Enniscorthy, and that if I would tell, he would save me. I said I would. I was then taken to Enniscorthy, where I was saved by a man who had been a malster to my uncle.

Q. Do you know of the prisoner having acted as a captain during the rebellion?

A. I saw him sworn to act as a captain.

Cross-examined by the prisoner.

Q. Are there any of the thirty men, that you saw in the wind-mill, alive now, except yourself?

A. There are, I believe, eight of them, or more.

Q. What time on Whitsun Tuesday was it that you saw me?

A. It was, I believe, about eleven or twelve : it was the time you were distributing powder to the rebels.

Q. Do you prosecute me because I could not save your brother that was killed on the hill?

A. I never knew before that you were present at my brother's death.

Francis Bradley, sworn.

Q. *by the prosecutor.* Did you know Mr. Philip Annesly?

A. I did.

Q. Is he living or dead?

A. I believe he is dead—it is so reputed in the country; and that he lies buried near Mr. Bale's, in a ditch.

Q. Do you know Andrew Farrel, the prisoner?

A. I do.

Q. Did you see him with Mr. Annesly in the rebellion?

A. I saw Mr. Annesly a prisoner in custody of Farrel. I was going to Mr. Wheeler's when I met them. Mr. Annesly called me, and requested I would take his watch and money, and give them to his friends. I refused, being afraid, and asked him why he made the request. He told me Andrew Farrel was taking him to be killed.

Q. Was Farrel near enough to hear what Mr. Annesly said?

A. He certainly was.

Q. Did he make any observation on what Annesly said?

A. He did not say a word.

Cross-examined by the prisoner.

Q. How long did you know me?

A. I have known your person four or five years.

Q. What day of the month was this?

A. I do not know. I think it was in the beginning of the rebellion.

Q. Did you know any one else of the party?

A. There was one Brennan, a weaver, who seemed to interfere for Mr. Annesly.

Henry Whitney, sworn.

Q. *by the prosecutor.* Did you know the Rev. Mr. Pentland?

A. I did.

Q. Is he living or dead?

A. He is dead.

Q. Relate to the court what you know of his death?

A. I was taken prisoner about four miles from Enniscorthy, and brought into the mill on Vinegar-hill. In a few hours after I saw Andrew Farrel, the prisoner, drag Mr. Pentland, either by the breast or by the hair, out of the door, where he was directly piked to death.

Q. Were there any others taken out?

A. There were, I believe, twenty-five while I was there. They were all put to death.

Q. Were there any put to death after William Furlong was sent out?

A. There were a good many.

Q. Did you see any of them dead?

A. I did. When I got out they were lying in a heap, except Mr. Pentland. His body lay separate from the rest, and was stripped, and very bloody.

Q. Did Mr. Pentland expostulate with the prisoner when he was taking him out?

A. When Farrel desired us all to go down on our knees, and told us we had not an hour to live, Mr. Pentland and Mr. Trocke got up, and begged they might be spared. Mr. Pentland said that they were clergymen, and that he was a stranger, and had been but a short time in the country, and was a north-countryman. He then offered his watch, which was taken by a man of the name of Foley. The prisoner then seized him and put him out of the door, where he was murdered, as was every person the prisoner put out, except Mr. Hornick's son. The prisoner attempted to drag me out, but I was held back by some of my fellow-prisoners.

Q. How were you saved?

A. I saw a rebel of my acquaintance, of the name of Doran. He told Farrel I was an honest quiet man; on which Farrel examined me about arms, and then let me out.

Q. Did you live in the parish of which Mr. Pentland was clergyman?

A. I did. He had been but a few months in the parish.

Q. What was his character?

A. He was a remarkably quiet harmless man.

Q. Did you know the prisoner before the rebellion?

A. I did.

Cross-examined by the prisoner.

Q. Where did you live at the time of the rebellion?

A. At Enniscorthy.

Q. Had you any conversation with Furlong on the subject of your evidence?

A. We have often talked of what we saw in the wind-mill.

John Gill, sworn.

Q. *by the prosecutor.* Were you a prisoner in the wind-mill on Vinegar-hill in the rebellion?

A. I was on Whitsunday, with many other loyalists.

Q. Were there any of them put to death that day?

A. There were.

Q. Do you know Andrew Farrel?

A. I do.

Q. Did you see him that day in the wind-mill?

A. I did.

Q. What was his conduct there?

A. One of the party that brought me prisoner to the wind-mill, said, on coming in, "captain Farrel, here is an orangeman." On which Farrel said to the guard, "take care of him." Some time after, finding the prisoner in great favour with the rebels, I entreated him to save my life. He asked me my name. I told him Gill. "That is a bad name," said he, "pre-

“pare for death; you have not an hour to live.” I again begged my life, and said that I and my brother would play the fife and beat the drum for them; but he desired me to put such thoughts out of my head, as I should certainly die.

Q. Did you see any one put to death at that time?

A. When I was brought out, I saw John Gill of Monglass lying near the door. He was just dying. A party of rebels, armed with pikes and guns, formed a line in front of the mill door. Behind them there were some on horseback. On being brought out, there was one Andrew Martin, with a drawn sword, standing inside the line, as executioner. I immediately addressed the rebels, and asked if they would put a man to death without trial. Martin cried out, “Damn your soul, do you come here to preach?”—and made a stab at me, which hit me in the wrist. Some of the rebels bade him stop, and asked me how I chose to die. I replied, “as a Christian.” One of those on horseback said, “may be he is a Christian,” and asked me, “are you a Christian?” I told him I believed in the Saviour of the world, through whom I hoped to be saved. Martin then said, “O damn your soul: you are a Christian in your own way,”—and directly stabbed me in the side. I fell on my face, and was then stabbed in the back, and beaten on the head with some heavy instrument.

I still kept my senses. My brother was next brought out, and asked the same question, how he chose to die. He boldly answered that he would die a protestant. On which they all shouted, and rushed forward, and piked him to death. Mr. Hornick was next brought out, and asked how he would die. He answered that he would die as he had lived. He was directly murdered. I then fainted, and continued insensible until my wife came for me in the evening. She found great difficulty in saving me, as there was an old man with a scythe examining the bodies, and striking on the head such as he found with any appearance of life. She took me to the bottom of the hill, where, finding I had life, she hid me. The next morning I was found there by the rebels, and brought up to the hill, from which I escaped by the help of a man that was to marry my daughter. About half a mile from the hill I was met by two men, one of whom fired at me. The ball grazed my head and stunned me. I there lay until my wife again found me. From that, until Vinegar-hill was taken by the king's troops, I lived in the fields and ditches.

Cross-examined by the prisoner.

Q. Did you put in a claim for your losses?

A. I did.

Q. Did you get your claim?

A. I did; a part.

Q. Were you not refused compensation for your losses unless you prosecuted some one?

A. No such thing. No objection was made to me.

Q. Were you instructed what to say?

A. I was not.

Q. Did you ever see me before that day?

A. I never did; but I am sure I will never forget you.

Q. Did you see me take any one out of the mill?

A. I did not.

Q. What time of the day was it?

A. About nine o'clock.

Q. Was not Coffey saved by me?

A. You granted leave to Luke Byrne, and two others, who interceded for him, to save Coffey's life.

Q. Is there any one else alive, who was in the mill that day?

A. There is one Warren, who was half killed like myself.

John Austin sworn.

Q. *by the prosecutor.* Do you know Andrew Farrel, the prisoner at the bar?

A. I do.

Q. Did you see him during the rebellion?

A. I did.

Q. In what capacity did he act?

A. I was brought a prisoner into Enniscorthy by one captain West, who brought me to the place where the prisoner was on parade with some rebels. West said, "captain Farrel, here is an orangeman I have brought you."—"Very well," said the prisoner, "I will take care of him." He then ordered four or five along with him, and took me to the rebel guard-house, where there were fifteen or sixteen loyalists confined.—One of them, a Mr. Robinson, begged of the prisoner to save them. The prisoner answered, with an oath, that he would have them all put to death before the next night.

Cross-examined by the prisoner.

Q. When was this?

A. To the best of my knowledge, about eight or nine days after the rebellion broke out.

Q. Were the men all put to death the next day?

A. I cannot tell. I got out by the intercession of a rebel.

Q. Do you recollect being saved another time, and by whom?

A. I was, by one Lacey.

Q. Did you see me at that time?

A. I did.

Q. Did not I interfere to save you?

A. Not you indeed.

John Mooney sworn.

Q. *by the prosecutor.* Do you know the prisoner?

A. I do, very well.

Q. Did you see him in the rebellion?

A. I did.

Q. In what capacity?

A. As a captain. I saw him sworn in as such, and a lieutenant sworn under him, when he was kissed by Kearns the priest; I saw him head a party at the attack on Mr. Cavenah's house, at Borris. I have heard him called St. Ruth.

Cross-examined by the prisoner.

Q. At what time in the rebellion did you hear me called captain?

A. Through the whole rebellion.

Q. At what time did you see me sworn in?

A. When you came back from Borris, Morgan Byrne and you had a dispute which of you should be eldest captain. Byrne said he had subscribed a long time to the united men. You answered you had subscribed as long.

David Ogden sworn.

Q. *by the prosecutor.* Do you know the prisoner, Andrew Farrel?

A. I do.

Q. Did you see him during the rebellion?

A. I did.

Q. In what capacity did he act?

A. He came one day to Mr. Wheeler's house, where I had gone for safety. He was at the head of a party, of which he seemed to have the chief command. He took Mr. Wheeler and myself out of the house, to bring us, as he said to Vinegar-hill. We were released by one Maclean, who by threatening and entreaties got us from Farrel. Maclean said, if we were not released, he would go to the hill, and tell that he had found the prisoner, the day of the battle of Enniscorthy, disguised in women's clothes, robbing, instead of fighting the king's army.

Q. Was the prisoner armed?

A. He was armed with a broad sword.

Cross-examined by the prisoner.

Q. When was this?

A. I believe about the third day after the rebels took Enniscorthy.

Q. Did you not think that I was one of those that should have rescued you?

A. I thought you ought to have done so, as you were a tenant of my uncle's; but you did not. You would not give Mr. Wheeler time to shave himself.

Q. Who was at Mr. Wheeler's with you?

A. There were my wife and sisters, Mrs. Bradley, and I believe Mrs. Wheeler, and Miss Newbold.

Q. Were you unwell at that time?

A. I was.

Q. Did you not say, "Andrew Farrel, wo'nt you save me?"

A. I do not know but I might have said so ; but you insisted on taking me to Vinegar-hill, which could not have been to save me. It was at that time the common place of execution.

Q. Were not your senses in that disturbed state as to be liable to mistake my conduct ?

A. It is impossible. I certainly was agitated as I thought I was to be murdered, but I never lost my recollection. I remember you observed me, and, winking at one of your companions, desired me not to be so agitated; for when I were once arrived at the hill I would be quiet enough.

Q. Was there any other person brought away from Mr. Wheeler's ?

A. None but Mr. Wheeler and I.

PRISONER'S DEFENCE.

James Hunt sworn.

Q. *by the prisoner.* Were you on Vinegar-hill on Whitsunday in the rebellion ?

A. I was. I was a prisoner to the rebels, who kept me just outside the mill door.

Q. What did you see done there ?

A. I saw a man, called Mr. Pentland, brought out, and put to death by one Conners.

Q. By whose order was he brought out ?

A. By order of Morgan Byrne, who was outside the mill door.

Q. Did you see me there?

A. I did not.

Q. How many did you see put to death?

A. Mr. Hornick, Mr. Pentland, and another man. I was then taken down to the bottom of the hill.

Q. *by the court.* Might not the prisoner have been in the mill without your knowledge?

A. He might; but I did not see him, nor hear tell of him.

Q. Are you now a prisoner?

A. I am.

Q. For what?

A. For suspicion of robbing my next neighbour.

John Rogan sworn.

Q. *by the prisoner.* Were you on Vinegar-hill on Whitsun-Tuesday?

A. I was not.

James Bryan sworn.

Q. *by the prisoner.* Were you on Vinegar-hill on Whitsun-Tuesday?

A. I was.

Q. At what time?

A. I was on every part of the hill from nine o'clock until three or four in the evening, and did not see you that day.

Q. Did you see any one taken out of the wind-mill?

A. I did not, but I saw a man dead that had been taken out.

Q. Who was the man?

A. A Mr. Pentland. I was lying on the hill when I heard that Mr. Pentland was to be killed. I ran to save him, but was too late. He was dead when I got up. I heard that one Connors and one Byrne had killed him.

Q. *by the court.* When do you live and what is your religion?

A. I am a Roman catholic, and live in the parish of Killann, of which Mr. Pentland was minister.

Q. What was his character in the parish?

A. He bore a most excellent character; a quiet mild man.

Q. Are you a prisoner now?

A. I am for suspicion of a rape.

William Wilkinson sworn.

Q. *by the prisoner.* Did you see me during the rebellion?

A. I did.

Q. Did you see me in the guard-house at Enniscorthy?

A. I did. I was a prisoner there.

Q. What was my conduct there?

A. You used me civilly. You took me and seventeen more out, and saved us, the day that we were ordered to be murdered by Kerns the priest.

Q. Were you with me during the rebellion?

A. I was very often ; almost every day.

Q. What was my character during the rebellion?

A. You saved those I spoke of, but I cannot say any thing farther.

Q. *by the court.* Did you carry a pike?

A. I did not, nor a gun.

Q. What arms did you carry?

A. I had a stick with a piece of a nail rod in the end of it.

Q. Would it kill a man?

A. It would.

Q. Had you any conversation with the prisoner lately with respect to the evidence you were to give?

A. Not one word. I had no conversation with him on any subject.

Q. Were you not in the gaol with the prisoner?

A. I was not ; I never was in the gaol.

Q. Do you swear that you had no conversation at all with the prisoner?

A. I had at a window.

Q. Where was this window?

A. I do not know whether it looked into the gaol yard, or into the street.

Q. Was it not the grated door of his cell you spoke to him at?

A. I do not know whether it was a door or a window.

Q. Were you not drinking with the prisoner?

A. He put a bottle through the bars, and bade me take a sup.

Q. Did not the prisoner give you money?

A. He gave me some to bear my expences.

Q. What expences?

A. The expences I was at to stay for his trial.

Q. When was this?

A. The day before yesterday.

Mary Hall sworn.

Q. *by the prisoner.* Did you see me during the rebellion?

A. I did. I saw you very often, but I do not recollect any particular day except Whitsun-Tuesday.

Q. Did you ever see me guilty of any outrage or crime?

A. I never saw you guilty of any thing but breaking open a house and robbing it.

Q. Whose house was it?

A. Mr. Joseph Sparrow's, where you took every thing, even the sheets under two cripples that lay in the house. You behaved civilly to my little boy, and made the butcher give him a good bit of meat.

Q. *by the court.* You say you saw the prisoner often; in what capacity?

A. I cannot say. I have seen him with a drawn sword at the head of a party. They obeyed him. I remember he ordered them to fire into Mr. Joseph's Sparrow's house, and they did so.

Q. Did you know Mr. Philip Annesly ?

A. I did. I saw him dragged out of the mill on Vinegar-hill, the day my husband was murdered. I afterwards saw his body lying dead on the hill.

The reader may see, from the perusal of this trial, that Andrew Farrel, so active in robbery and murder, was a very great coward. In fact, the greatest plunderers and murderers, both of the rebel and of the loyalist parties, were the greatest cowards. This is the most deplorable state of society, when the worthless find themselves able to exert their malignant inclinations with impunity.

This remarkable circumstance attended the death of Andrew Farrel, that he died in the most solemn assertion of an evident falsehood, for what he doubtless regarded as a laudable and generous purpose. When he was led to execution, and on the point of being launched into the other world, he addressed a magistrate in words to this amount :

“ Sir, to shew you on what sort of evidence
“ men are liable to be condemned to death in
“ this country, I now, at the moment of my

“ being plunged into eternity, take God and my
 “ Saviour to witness, that I never was on Vine-
 “ gar-hill ; and if I tell a lye, may I be consigned
 “ to everlasting punishment !”

This, which was doubtless intended to put a stop, or at least an impediment, to prosecutions, had, from the notoriety of the matter denied, a contrary effect. Beside the above given evidence, the following affidavit was made.

County of } JAMES COFFEY, of Enniscorthy,
Wexford. } in said county, gentleman, came
 this day before me, and solemnly made oath on the holy evangelists, that he was on Vinegar-hill on Tuesday in Whitsun week, in the year 1798, a prisoner to the rebels ; and there saw Andrew Farrel, lately executed at Wexford, a commander among the rebels, while they were murdering the Rev. Mr. Pentland, Mr. Gill of Monglass, Thomas Gill, the wheelwright, and others : and that he saw, at the same time, John Gill, the wheelright, stabbed and left for dead.

He further swears that the said Andrew Farrel, by his influence among the rebels, saved the lives of deponent and of captain Blacker at the same time and place.

JAMES COFFEY.

Sworn before me, at Enniscorthy,

this 25th day of June, 1800,

THOMAS HANDCOCK.

As remarkable as the declaration of Andrew Farrel is the following: in which I am inclined to suspect somewhat of an overcharge in some points, from the gloomy state of the man's mind at the time of the confession.

The Confession of James Beaghan. Taken before the high sheriff of the county of Wexford, and John H. Lyster, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for said county, the day before his execution.

I, JAMES BEAGHAN, acknowledge and confess that I am guilty of the crime for which I am to suffer; but that I did not commit it from ill will to the people that were murdered, but from the orders of Luke Byrne. I could not disobey him. No person could refuse to obey the orders of the commanders. I am sure that any man in command could save the lives of the poor people. Every man that was a protestant was called an orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the poorest man in the country. Before the rebellion, I never heard there was any hatred between Roman catholics and protestants; they always lived peaceably together. I always found the protestants better masters, and more indulgent landlords, than my own religion. During the rebellion, I never saw any one interfere to prevent murder, but one Byrne, who saved a man; I think all that were present were as guilty as those that perpetrated the murders—

it was thinking we were all equally guilty that prevented me from flying the country. The women were numerous, and were as bad as the men. The rebels treated their prisoners with great severity, very different from the way I have been treated in gaol. They thought it no more a sin to kill a protestant than a dog. Had it not been that they were so soon quashed, they would have fought with each other for the property of the protestants—they were beginning before the battle of Vinegar-hill. Ever since the rebellion I never heard one of the rebels express the least sorrow for what was done ; on the contrary, I have heard them say they were sorry while they had the power they did not kill more, and that there was not half enough killed. I know that the rebels were determined to rise if the French should come, and I believe they did not give up half their arms ; there are guns, bayonets, and pikes, hid in the country. (∴) Now, gentlemen, remember what I tell you—if you and the protestants are ever in the power of the catholics again, as they are now in yours, they will not leave one of you alive, you will all go smack smooth ; even those that campaigned with them would, in the end, have been killed—I have heard them say so many times.

Taken before us, August 23d, 1799.

CHRIST. WILSON, SHERIFF,
JOHN H. LYSTER.

N. B. From this mark (∴) Beaghan spoke without having been asked any questions ; and spoke with an earnestness and in a manner that shewed his sincerity.

From my inquiries concerning Father Shallow, of Adamstown, I believe that he never went to Carrickburn-camp, or Scullabogue-house, except for the purpose of procuring the release of prisoners, in which he succeeded not, except that one poor girl escaped by his means, and that he was chiefly instrumental in the liberation of young Mr. Lett of Kilgibbon. Miss Lett, of Kilgibbon, had voluntarily accompanied her brother to Scullabogue, and was not a prisoner there. She returned with her brother when he was liberated.

NUMBER IV.

The following is copied from the appendix, No. 6, of Dr. Duigenan's "Fair Representation of the present political State of Ireland."

"It is but justice to observe, that it is alleged
"in behalf of the late Cornelius Grogan, Esq.
"that his residence was only three miles from
"the town of Wexford ; that he was advanced
"in years, and very infirm ; that the rebellion
"broke out very suddenly and unexpectedly ;
"that his infirmities disabled him from retreating

“ from the rebels with that expedition which
“ could give him any reasonable hopes of escape ;
“ that the rebels imagined the presumed coun-
“ tenance and support of a gentleman of his
“ rank and consequence would acquire credit to
“ their cause ; and when they had him in their
“ power, they conferred on him what title they
“ pleased, in which he was obliged to acquiesce,
“ for the preservation of his life among such a
“ savage banditti ; and that he never acted as
“ commissary-general of their army, or in any
“ military capacity among them : and indeed it
“ is very certain, that whatever title of general
“ or commander they might have given him, he
“ was utterly incapable of undertaking or per-
“ forming any active service, being much ad-
“ vanced in years, and a great martyr to the
“ gout. His two brothers, Thomas Grogan
“ Knox, and John Knox Grogan, at the
“ same time were eminent for their loyalty and
“ courage ; and in the rebellion one of them
“ (Thomas) was slain, gallantly charging the
“ rebels at the battle of Arklow, at the head of
“ a brave corps of yeomen raised by him. The
“ other brother John Knox Grogan) was many
“ years a cavalry officer in the king’s army, (the
“ 5th and 18th light dragoons) and is a gentleman
“ of great honour and integrity.” To this may
be added, concerning the last named gentleman,
that as captain he raised the Healthfield yeoman

cavalry in September, 1796; that he went to Enniscorthy with twelve of his men, when he was informed that it was to be attacked the 26th of May, and continued there, with captain Solomon Richards and his corps, during that night and Sunday morning, doing all in his power to disperse the rebels, who were then burning the protestants' houses about that neighbourhood; that when serjeant Stanley had yet to force his way to Cork, to hold a commission on the rebels there, captain Grogan, with fourteen of his men, conducted him safe to Waterford the 27th of May; that on the 28th he applied to general Fawcet for a good force to bring to Wexford. The general gave him an order for two hundred of the Donegal militia and a six-pounder. He left New Geneva at four o'clock that evening, and arrived at Wexford with them at seven o'clock on Tuesday the 29th. In the retreat of the army from Wexford the next day, he was wounded in the neck, as he marched with his corps in the advanced guard. I should also add that I lived many years in the neighbourhood of Thomas Grogan Knox, who was killed in the battle of Arklow, and knew him to be a man of great benevolence and generosity.

The following is a true copy of a Letter written by Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey to the rebels at the station of Three-rocks, at the request

of several magistrates, about two hours before the evacuation of Wexford by the king's troops. He was at the time when he wrote it, ill of the gout.

"I have been treated in prison with all possible humanity, and am now at liberty. I have procured the liberty of all the prisoners. If you pretend to Christian charity, do not commit massacre, or burn the property of the inhabitants; and spare your prisoners' lives.

B. B. HARVEY."

Wednesday, May 30, 1798.

The places of confinement of loyalist prisoners in Wexford, while the town was in possession of the rebels, are thus stated, with the number of prisoners in each.

In the jail	-	-	148
In the market-house	-	-	48
In the barrack	-	-	36
In the prison ship	-	-	22
In the court-house	-	-	3
In a private house	-	-	3
			<hr/>
In all	-	-	260

NUMBER V.

REMARKS ON SIR RICHARD MUSGRAVE'S
MEMOIRS OF REBELLIONS IN IRELAND.

SIR RICHARD, residing in the capital, collecting a perplexing mass of materials of the same kind, and having no personal knowledge of the transactions in the country, has been led into a multitude of errors of little moment. Those few, indeed, which I think proper at present to notice, are hardly of any consequence.

In page 344 of the quarto edition, he says, that Gorey was attacked on the 30th of May by a numerous body of rebels. This is totally destitute of foundation, except that a great number of women were assembling at the distance of three or four miles, with intention of marching to plunder the town, which had been in a most extraordinary manner deserted by the army. This female brigade, however, dispersed without approaching the town, on a false report of the advance of a body of Welch cavalry.

He says in page 442, that our troops got possession of Gorey on the 12th of June.* They certainly did not till the 19th, the day previous to that of general Needham's memorable march to Vinegar-hill.

In his appendix, page 83, he says that Father

* He has corrected this in his third edition.

Murphy's journal was found by captain Hugh Moore. It was found by an officer of the fensible regiment of Durham infantry, lieutenant-colonel Bainbridge, from whom captain Moore procured it, as he also *procured* a plan of the battle of Arklow.

In page 431, he calls Father Philip Roche an inhuman savage. So far as his having a rough and boisterous exterior, and his being often in a state of intoxication, the term may in some degree be applicable; but for a charge of cruelty against him, I can find no foundation. On the contrary, I have heard, from indubitable authority, many instances of his active humanity. I knew Father Roche for some years before the rebellion, and he was certainly not a favourite with me, as I disliked his rough familiar manner, and his too frequent indulgence of ebriety; but his behaviour in the rebellion has convinced me, that he possessed a humane and generous heart, with an uncommon share of personal courage. My information comes from numbers of protestants, who were protected in his camp.

I have already elsewhere noticed Sir Richard's estimate of the population of Ireland. He supposes the number of men capable of bearing arms in the county of Wexford to be sixty-nine thousand; from which we must infer the number of persons of all ages and both sexes in this county to be three hundred and forty-five thousand; since

males of the military age constitute in European countries a fifth part only of the whole population. He supposes the county of Wexford to contain a thirty-fourth part of the number of people in the whole island: hence we are to infer the number of people in the whole island to be eleven millions and seven hundred and thirty thousand ! I know of no rational estimate of the population of Ireland, except that of Chalmers.

In page 370 he plainly insinuates, that all those among the rebels who were above the rank of the vulgar, some of whom he particularizes by name, were guilty of, or consenting to, the massacre of protestants. John Hay, however, who, to the infamy of his memory, murdered a man called Grey Thomas, on Vinegar-hill, was the only Romish gentleman whom I consider, from what I have heard, as guilty of murder, from motives of religious hatred ; yet I am informed, that even this murder arose from a private pique in Hay. Some, whose names I have already mentioned, were certainly men of active humanity ; and some were never near any scene of massacre at the time of its perpetration. Of this piece of fortune several have since good cause to be glad, since their successful interference to prevent murder might have been brought against them as a proof of their having a command among the rebels, and might have

brought them to the gallows. I know of no religious murders committed at the camps of Three-rocks, Carrickburn,* Slyeevekeelter, or Lacken, where men of education and property presided. I know many protestants, whose names I could mention, who were in the hands of the rebels in these camps, none of whom ever heard of any murders of protestants committed in them. The places of butchery were Vinegar-hill and Wexford; besides that many murders were committed here and there in the country. Concerning one person mentioned, in the above-quoted page, Jeremiah Fitzhenry, from whom I took a lease of the place where I now reside, I have made a very particular inquiry. Whether he had any command among the rebels, may be a matter of doubt; my opinion is, that he had none; but I have not a shadow of reason to suspect that he was near any place of murder at the time of its commission, or that he ever approved of the perpetration of such acts.† Mr.

* Scullabogue lies at the foot of Carrickburn mountain; but at the time of the massacre no encampment existed there.

† To prevent misconception, I here copy Sir Richard's own words.

“ Unwilling to disgust the reader, I will give him a circumstantial account of but a few of the various cruelties practised on the victims who were immolated on Vinegar-hill by these ferocious fanatics; had they been perpetrated by the dregs of the people, some allowance might have been made for the force of religious bigotry on the minds of the vulgar herd;

Thomas Townsend, barrister at law, and member of the last Irish parliament, intimately acquainted with political affairs at Cork; as being counsel to the general, commanding in the southern district, in the time of the rebellion, and resident

“but we have to lament that many persons whose birth, education, or opulence, raised them far above that description, were present at, or were consenting to, the perpetration of these atrocities; for we find that they were constantly in the rebel camps, where they daily took place, and that they could have prevented them is unquestionable; for no instance that I could discover ever occurred, that the personal interference, or the written protection of a rebel officer, or one of their priests, did not save the life of a person destined to destruction.

“Mr. William Barker, a brewer and a merchant of Ennis-corthy, was a general in the camp. Mr. Patrick Sutton, formerly a merchant, and well educated, held that rank; and his two sons, one of whom was educated for the bar, were officers there: one Kelly, an opulent farmer near that town, a rebel officer, who has been hanged: the bloody Luke Byrne, a malster, and his two sons, in opulent circumstances; Messrs. Codd † and Walsh, shop-keepers, and reputed rich: Marineth, a farmer, was wealthy; Andrew Farrel was in good circumstances, and yet he was active in promoting the massacres: Jeremiah Fitzhenry, married to John Colclough's sister, was of the ancient family of the Fitzhenrys, in the county of Wexford: John Colclough, of a family highly respectable, who had often represented the county, was well educated, and in good circumstances, disgraced himself by yielding to the influence of fanaticism. He was the only papist that I could learn of his family. Messrs. Garret and William Byrne were rebel chieftains, and attended the camps.”

† “Francis Codd, another person of the same name, was very loyal.”

there, positively contradicts, from his own knowledge, the following statement of Sir Richard, contained in No. XI. of his appendix, "The conspiracy was infinitely more terrific in the city of Cork than in Dublin, because the protestants of the established church, whose destruction was meditated, were much fewer in proportion to the Roman catholics, and *the conspirators were better armed and organized*, as the vigilance and exertions of the executive power were not so active and vigorous as in the metropolis, the seat of government. There was great disaffection among the popish yeomen, particularly in the Cork legion. Sweeny and Donovan, two leaders in the conspiracy, and Drinnane, *continued members of it until they were arrested*. Some of them owned to persons who became approvers, that they entered into it merely to obtain arms, and a knowledge of military discipline." Mr. Townsend, among other assertions, affirms in reply, that, "One of the most sudden and diligent searches for arms, which perhaps ever took place, was made at Cork; and such was the prudent rigour with which it had been directed, that even the supernumerary weapons of the yeomanry of the city were all seized, and deposited in proper places; and notwithstanding the suddenness, extent, and zeal of the search, *not above four hundred stand of arms* (if the term will apply) *could be*

found in that great city; and those were almost entirely fowling-pieces, pistols, swords, and even sword-canes." With respect to the organization, he says, "If the most consistent and credible testimony be unquestioned, the organized sections in the three districts, into which the city was divided, had not proceeded beyond the section No. 83, amounting, in a population *computed* to be near one hundred thousand, to *one thousand and seventy-nine.*" Of the three men arrested belonging to the Cork legion, which consisted of eight hundred, Sweeny had been expelled a considerable time before his arrest, and had never been again admitted; Donovan, though prosecuted with great acrimony, was acquitted and restored to his place in the legion; and Drinnane was arrested unaccused, and enlarged, without any other examination than what he himself had solicited, from a court of inquiry after his liberation. The most abandoned of all the informers, and *they were in general the most degraded, infamous, and sanguinary of mankind,* never, to my knowledge, blew the lightest breath of suspicion upon that gentleman."

The chief part of Sir Richard's reply is, that Mr. Townsend's pamphlet is "scouted and condemned by all the loyal citizens of Cork." As I am not acquainted with these citizens, I cannot pretend to judge between the baronet and the lawyer; but I know that Sir R. sometimes

applies the term *all* to a part; and *scouting* arguments have no force, unless the *scouters* be men of reflexion, judgment, and candour.

Of the difference between the superior and inferior classes of Romanists, the following is an instance. A labouring peasant, who took the title of captain Gormaghan, went one Sunday morning into the house of the Rev. Samuel Francis, rector of Killegny, and after threatening to cut off the arm of a son of Mr. Francis, because he could not dextrously sign his forehead with a cross in the Romanist manner, drove out the whole family before him to the Romish chapel, declaring that no religion, except that alone which God permitted, must any longer be professed. The Fitzhenry family, who formed part of the congregation, were at this scene evidently affected with deep concern, which they endeavoured to conceal from the unfeeling crowd. They advised in whispers the distressed family to endeavour to hide their grief from the fanatic mob; and administered such comfort as the fear of offending the ignorant bigots permitted. That this captain Gormaghan has never been molested since the rebellion, is a strong proof of the moderation of the protestants of this parish; as also one Michael Wicken, and one Philip Dillon, who insisted on having these protestants put to death,

and foamed with rage when the rest of the Romanists would not consent to it.*

To regard the Romanists of Ireland as all alike bigotted and disloyal, I must consider as highly unjust. I know that the ignorant multitude think their own religion the only one admitted by God, and that to suppress all others is meritorious. Some perhaps of a rank above the vulgar, admit the same doctrine, which, however, must be inwardly rejected by every reflecting person who takes reason for his guide; and such are certainly to be found among Irish Romanists. Many military officers, I believe, can testify for the good behaviour of the Roman Catholic soldiers under their command, in the time of the rebellion; and I think that many protestant clergymen will admit, that they recover their tithes with much less trouble from Romanists than from any other people of religious denomination, not excepting even those of the established church. The author of the narrative of transactions at Killala, so often already quoted, speaks of many Romanists of property in that quarter unwilling to take arms against

* This account of the behaviour of the Fitzhenrys I had from Mr. Francis's eldest daughter.

I find that this captain Gormaghan, who committed this outrage on Mr. Francis and his family, behaved remarkably well to some other protestants; but I can find no good account of Wicken or Dillon.

the British government; I believe that many such may be found in the south of Ireland also. But if they have in general a dislike to protestants and to British government, unkindness cannot remedy the evil. I choose not at present to enter into this subject farther, than to add, that some objections to certain measures with respect to the Romanists of Ireland seem to be removed with the local parliament of this island.

In the above quoted page Sir Richard has made a mistake, which probably himself has corrected before this. He reckons Messrs. Codd and Walsh, of Enniscorthy, among the rebel commanders, and tacitly fixes the censure on William Codd, who is well known to have behaved with loyalty, and to have had no connexion in this business with Walsh. In the next page, he has made a trifling mistake in considering John Henry Colclough as the only Romanist of his family, and a person debased by religious bigotry. The branch of family to which he belonged were all Roman catholics; and he was certainly in an uncommon degree liberal in religious matters, and a foe to bigotry.

We are not to consider all as indubitable facts, which have been sworn by the lower sort of people against prisoners on trial; some evidences of this description being, on these occasions, far enough from being unexceptionable. Thus, that Thomas Clooney, as was sworn on his trial,

ordered the church of Old Ross to be burned, and when he saw it in flames, exclaimed, that "the devil's house was then burning," appears to me very doubtful.

The facts asserted in the affidavits and narratives of respectable persons, such as Mrs. Heydon, (see page 95—97 of the appendix) are absolutely unquestionable: but other facts might also be related, which in some cases would give a somewhat different complexion to affairs. Thus the massacre of thirty-six protestants on Bloody Friday, affirmed in the affidavit of James Pippard, deputy sovereign of Gorey, (page 147) is unquestionable: but we are not informed in this affidavit, that a considerable number of Romanists had that day been put to death, in and about Gorey, some of whom were kinsmen of those who were most active afterwards in this massacre of the protestants. But, perhaps, the reader will say, these Romanists who had been slaughtered were rebels. Doubtless some of them were, and well deserved their fate; yet the feelings of rebels and their kinsmen may be similar to those of loyalists, and they may in like manner endeavour to retaliate. That all, however, were guilty, may be doubtful, since a few, who were brought into the town for slaughter, were liberated at the intercession of some humane yeomen, who knew them to be innocent. One Toole, who was one of the most active in this massacre of the pro-

testants, has since been acquitted in a trial by jury from the circumstances of the case. This unfortunate affair, in which some of the best and most inoffensive protestants of the country lost their lives, originated from a mistake in general Needham's express, and the temerity of a few, as I have already related. Notwithstanding the fury of the rebels on this occasion, they spared the lives of some who fell into their hands, particularly John Nun, Esq. of Gorey. The execution of revenge by one party, excites a spirit of revenge in the opposite; and if both protestants and Romanists would attend, as much as I wish them, to the essentials of Christianity, they would exchange complete forgiveness mutually, and live in that harmony which their common Redeemer has in his doctrines recommended.

COPY OF A LETTER OF DOCTOR CAULFIELD,
TO JAMES BOYDE, ESQ. WEXFORD.

SIR,

WITH equal surprise and concern I have lately been told, that it is whispered about, you have many grievous charges against me, as many as would hang fifty men. If this report be founded in truth conscious innocence presses me to request, and I expect from your candour, that you will have the goodness to let me know it; for I do not, nor will I skulk, or fly from justice, or the laws. I shall be here, or in the neighbourhood,

openly, and ready to answer any legal or fair call: I hope you will believe me, when I assure you, that I shall, by many degrees, prefer innocent death to inglorious and wounded honour.

That I have been foully calumniated, and most grossly insulted, is too notorious; and that I bore it in all meekness and patience is not less so; nor is it a secret, though since overlooked, that during the horrid rebellion in Wexford, I did every thing in my power to serve and save my protestant neighbours and their property; and if I did not more, it was unfortunate for them and painful to me, that I could not effect it, being myself in constant terror for my life. The fabrications and false tales of the ignorant and prejudiced, I can, I thank God, despise; but charges of treason or felony are too much for a Christian innocent man to bear.

This consideration, I hope, will make my apology for giving you this trouble; and humbly requesting you will inform me how I stand in that respect,

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

SIR,

your most humble,

and most obedient servant,

JAMES CAULFIELD.

Ballinacorney, May 11, 1800.

The Doctor, says, that he never received any answer to the foregoing letter.

The following letter, concerning Doctor Caulfield, has been sent to me with a request that I should insert it.

Dublin, 30th March, 1798.

SIR,

I AM directed by my Lord-Lieutenant to desire you will make a proper acknowledgement to the titular bishop, who lives in your neighbourhood, for the active and zealous part he is taking in preserving peace and good order among his flock. Exertions of this nature are more particularly called for, when every artifice is employed to seduce the lower orders from their allegiance, to inculcate the spirit of distrust of their protestant brethren, and to goad them to acts of outrage and insurrection. Those are not the paths to public improvement, or happiness, and it is, therefore, in such times as these, that those men deserve the best of the community, who, regardless of intimidation, and sensible alone to the call of duty, impress the obligations of obedience, morality, and religion, in proportion as endeavours are made to dissolve those ties of society. I am sure you will continue that line, which you have adopted, for preserving the good order and harmony of your neighbourhood,

from which good effects have already flowed, and from which further good consequences will naturally follow.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

your most obedient humble servant,

E. COOKE.

TO CÆSAR COLCLOUGH, ESQ.

(OF DUFFRY-HALL.)

Father John Murphy's Journal, found on the field of battle at Arklow, by lieutenant-colonel Bainbridge, of the Durham fencible infantry, and sent by him to general Needham.

“SATURDAY night, May 26, at 6 A. M.
 “1798, began the republic of Ireland, in Boulavogue, in the county of Wexford, barony of Gorey, and parish of Kilcormick, commanded by the Rev. Doctor Murphy, parish priest of the said parish, in the aforesaid parish, when all the protestants of that parish were disarmed, and, among the aforesaid, a bigot, named Thomas Bookey, who lost his life by his rashness.

“26. From thence came to Oulart, a country village adjoining, when the republic attacked a minister's house for arms, and was denied of; laid siege immediately to it, and killed him

“and all his forces ; they same day burned his
“house, and all the orangemen’s houses in that
“and all the adjoining parishes in that part of
“the country.

“The same day a part of the army, to the
“amount of one hundred and four of infantry,
“and two troops of cavalry, attacked the
“republic on Oulart-hill, when the military were
“repulsed with the loss of one hundred and
“twelve men, and the republic had four killed,
“and then went to a hill called Corrigrua,
“where the republic encamped that night, and
“from thence went to a town called Camolin,
“which was taken without resistance, and the
“same day took another town and *sate* of a
“bishop. At three in the afternoon, the same
“day, they laid siege to Enniscorthy, when
“they were opposed by an army of seven hun-
“dred men, then they were forced to set both
“ends of the town on fire, and then took the
“town in the space of one hour, and then en-
“camped on a hill near the town, called Vine-
“gar-hill.

BRYAN BULGER,

DARBY MURPHY, his hand and pen.

Dated this 26th.

The inaccuracy of this incipient journal cannot escape the reader’s notice. I have copied it from Sir R. Musgrave’s book, as he doubtless had the

original from general Needham. A copy, which a friend in Dublin procured for me, hardly differs from it. Bulger has been secretary to Father Murphy. By the *sate* of a bishop is meant Ferns.

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL
HUMBERT TO THE LORD BISHOP OF KILLALA.

“ Dover, October 26, 1798:

“ MY LORD,

“ BEING on the point of returning to
“ France, I think it my duty to testify to you
“ the extraordinary esteem with which your
“ conduct has always inspired me. Since I have
“ had the good fortune of being acquainted with
“ you, I have always regretted that the chance
“ of war, and my duty as a military officer, have
“ obliged me, in carrying the scourge of war
“ into your neighbourhood, to disturb the
“ domestic happiness which you enjoyed, and of
“ which you are in every respect worthy. Too
“ happy, if in returning into my country, I can
“ flatter myself that I have acquired any claim
“ to your esteem. Independently of other rea-
“ sons which I have for loving and esteeming
“ you, the representation which citizen Charost
“ gives me of all your good offices to him and
“ his officers, as well before as after the reduction
“ of Killala, will demand for ever my esteem
“ and gratitude.

“ I entreat you, my lord, to accept my declaration of it, and to impart it to your worthy family.

“ I am, with the highest esteem,

“ MY LORD,

“ your most humble servant.

“ HUMBERT.”

NUMBER VI.

AT A GENERAL QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE
GOVERNORS AND GOVERNESSES OF THE
WEXFORD FEMALE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY,
HELD ON THE 1ST DAY OF FEB. 1802,

It was unanimously resolved,

THAT the conduct of the Romish clergy of this town, in compelling the parents of such children of their religion, as were pupils at said school, to withdraw those children, under pain of excommunication, excites our surprise.

That the reason assigned by the Rev. John Corrin, parish priest of Wexford, for their being withdrawn, viz. “ that attempts had been made “ to seduce them from their religion,” appears to us to have no other foundation than a too easy belief of the misrepresentations of prejudice, and the fictions of calumny ;—and we call upon Mr. Corrin to substantiate the charge, by naming the persons who attempted such seduction, and producing the children on whom it was practiced.

That, had such attempts been made, they would not justify the mode of conduct which has been adopted; as it does not appear that complaint was ever made thereof to any governor or governess, or at any general quarterly meeting; nor does it appear that the interests of their religion could possibly have been injured by deferring this violent measure one week longer, when the general quarterly meeting of this day would have afforded an opportunity of complaint and redress.

That the female school of industry was established at a time of universal scarcity and distress; and that the children of the Romish religion were admitted into said school, and therein educated, and in part clothed and fed; not, as is falsely asserted, to induce them to barter their religion for the supply of their wants; (of such baseness the governors and governesses of that school are incapable,) but to prevent those wretched children from falling the immediate victims of poverty and vice, to enable them to earn their daily bread by honest industry, and to teach them virtue.

That, when this subject, if cause of complaint did actually exist, could have been so easily adjusted by a temperate conduct, and a proper representation, on the part of the Romish clergy, of any grievance or defect, which occurred to them in the arrangements or conduct of this

infant institution, we lament the precipitancy which compels us to order, that the resolutions be three times inserted in the Dublin Journal, and that two hundred copies of them be printed for circulation here.

(Signed, by order)

JOHN MONTGOMERY, Sec.

Wexford, Feb. 1, 1802.

WEXFORD POOR SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY.

Rev. John Corrin, parish priest of Wexford, having been particularly censured by the governors and governesses of the Wexford poor school of industry, in their resolutions of the 1st. inst. published in the Dublin Journal, and in hand bills, deems it incumbent on him to lay before the impartial public, the principal reasons which induced the Roman catholic clergy of Wexford to admonish the Roman catholics to withdraw their children from the female poor school of industry therein.

Among the regulations for the government of the school, it was a fundamental one, that no person whosoever should be permitted to interfere, in any manner, with the respective religion of the children; and to prevent any jealousies, or suspicions of such interference, it was resolved, that the protestants; should be sent to the church, and the Roman catholics to the chapel, to be instructed in the catechism. Those regu-

lations have been notoriously violated. On the day the children got new clothes, the Roman catholics were conducted in procession from the school to the church, where they remained during divine service, although to a message from one of the governesses, by Miss Jane Sutton, to Mr. Corrin, requesting to know whether the Roman catholic children would be permitted to appear in church on that day, it was answered, that *the rules of the Roman catholic church forbid its members to join in any religious worship but its own on any account whatsoever.* 2dly. The protestant catechism was taught publicly in the school. The Roman catholic catechism was not. The consequence of this was that the Roman catholic children, when questioned concerning the christian doctrine, answered from the protestant catechism, and knew more of it than their own. 3dly. They were compelled every day to join the protestants in prayer. 4thly. Four of the children, viz. Eli~~as~~ Elliot, Eliz. Murphy, Mary M'Namay, and Bridget Doyle, since they frequented the school, quitted the chapel, and went to church; and Mary M'Namay, and Bridget Doyle are become protestants. 5thly. The Roman catholic children were compelled *to work on the days commanded to be kept holy by the Roman catholic church.*

The undernamed, who appear to be the ~~be~~ informed of the Roman catholic children of the

school, the youngest of whom is, at least, twelve years old, some of them fourteen and fifteen, viz. Elizabeth Breene, Mary Whitty, Margaret Pierce, Ann Clements, Mary Barret, Ann Synnot, Mary Cuzens, Elizab. Hilfoy, Catherine Kirvan, Margaret Walsh, Mary Walsh, Mary Pierce, Judith Gall, have solemnly declared, that Mrs. Gibson, one of the mistresses of the school, Miss Hannah Jacob, and Miss Charlotte Turner, the two most frequent visitors of the school, so frequently attacked them on the different points of their religion and of their clergy, that scarcely a day passed, especially since the death of Mrs. Parker, but they heard something said to excite in them a detestation of their religion, and of their clergy. They particularly remember that Mrs. Gibson told them they were all idolators; that they kept but nine commandments; that they paid divine worship to images; that priests had no more power to absolve from sins than other men; that the virgin Mary was no more than any other woman; that she ought not to be called *blessed*; that it was a fine thing to go to church, where they would understand what the minister said; and Mary Cuzens declares, that Mrs. Gibson endeavoured to prevail on her particularly to go to church, which she believes she would have done, had she not been withdrawn from the school. Mrs. Gibson told them the Pope kept a *Miss*, or lewd woman. She

frequently repeated stories of the incontinency of priests, and of the sad fate of a young lady, who was so intimate with a priest, that her friends were obliged to use violence to separate them. She said that no people were more callous to the wants and necessities of the poor than priests, and instanced a case, that a poor woman had died lately in Bride-street without a priest, as Father Corrin would not attend her, because she had not money to give him. Ann Clements declared that Miss Hannah Jacob endeavoured to induce her to become a protestant, and pointed out several texts of scripture which, she told her, plainly proved that the doctrine of the Roman catholic religion was false; and she believed that, had she not been withdrawn from the school, she would have become a protestant. She likewise declared, that when she asked Miss Jacob's permission to read the Roman catholic catechism for the ignorant Catholic children, Miss Jacob said, she would not permit false doctrine to be taught in that school; she also declared, that Mrs. Gibson beat her severely for vindicating the Rev. Mr. Corrin, when his character was aspersed by one of the scholars, who now goes to church, and said she fought for her priest like a *game cock*, and desired the scholars to call her nothing else but the *pet fox*. That the protestant children, from the example of Mrs. Gibson, had frequent broils with the Roman catholics, par-

ticularly when Mr. Montgomery was last absent. Ann Synnot, one of the most sensible of the Roman catholic scholars, was directed to give information of all these proceedings to Rev. J. Elgee, which she promised to do. It is now discovered that she failed in her promise, assigning for her reason that she would have no hand in depriving Mrs. Gibson of her bread. The above-mentioned scholars are willing to confirm by an oath their respective declarations, when called upon by competent authority. Mr. Corrin, with great deference, submits this plain narrative of facts; without any comment, to the enlightened and unbiassed of every religious persuasion. They will appreciate his conduct, and determine whether the Roman catholic clergy of Wexford be justly charged with intolerance, illiberality, or impropriety, in admonishing the Roman catholics to withdraw their children from the female poor school of industry in that town, when it had ceased to be conducted conformably to its original institution, of which unrestrained liberty of conscience was the basis and most prominent feature.

JOHN CORRIN.

Wexford, 16th Feb. 1802.

The reader may observe that Mr. Corrin avows the interdiction of catholics from being present at protestant ceremonies; and also proclaims the interdiction of work on holy days. For

the former interdiction the catholic clergy have reason, as without it their flocks might be gradually thinned. For the latter, I perceive no adequate object. The consecration of a great number of days to idleness, if not also to vice, is often attended with serious losses to individuals, and to the public.

The intervention of a holyday, followed by an unfavourable change of weather, has occasioned the damage or loss of corn, turf, &c. The catholic church of France has abolished this pernicious practice, regarding fifty-two Sundays in the year as sufficient for the purposes of religion. Will that of Ireland be the last to admit any rational reform in matters of manifest utility?

The violation of compact, of which Mr. Corrin complains, was certainly, if committed by any, not very honourable, and was without the knowledge of the governors and governesses in general. Miss Turner cleared herself by affidavit, independently of which, I believe, she was acquitted in the opinion of Mr. Corrin.

NUMBER VII.

NAMES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COURT-MARTIAL ON SIR EDWARD CROSBIE.

Major Denis, of the 9th dragoons, president.

Captain Martin, of the 9th dragoons.

Captain Sherston, 32d regiment.

Capt. Buthin, unattached.

Lieut. Loftus, 9th dragoons.

Lieut. Roe, Armagh regiment.

Lieut. Best, half pay.

Lieut. Higgins, 9th dragoons.

Lieut. Ogle, Armagh regiment.

Lieut. Magrath, North Cork.

Lieut. Bagwell, 9th dragoons.

Ensign Ellis, Armagh regiment.

Cornet Fleming, 9th dragoons.

“The insults offered to her,” (Lady Crosbie, widow of Sir Edward, after his death), “by the military, became now so alarming, that these, together with a midnight visit from colonel Mahon, of the 9th dragoons, and a party of dragoons, on a frivolous pretence, after what had befallen her lamented husband, excited in her no unreasonable apprehensions for her own security : and she was obliged at length literally *to fly for refuge to England.*”
See the pamphlet, page 9.

AN EXACT COPY OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR DENIS, IN ANSWER TO AN APPLICATION FOR THE COPY OF THE MINUTES OF SIR EDWARD'S TRIAL.

Mount-Mellick, Feb. 1, 1800.

"MADAM,

"I HAVE been honoured with your letter, representing a conversation I had with a lady at Harrowgate, respecting a transaction which occurred during the late rebellion. It concerns me much to renew a subject, *which I hoped was buried in oblivion*. But as the lady has thought proper to mention the business, and which I thought I was only speaking on in confidence, I must beg leave to say, that on her representing to me that reflection had been cast on the proceedings of the court-martial, of which I was a member, in vindication I declared my sentiments, observing I could by the proceedings prove the assertion I made. The lady will, I am sure, do me justice, to recollect what my sentiments were:— that I should be extremely sorry to bring forward any thing to hurt the feelings of any of the family, part of whom I had been acquainted with a long time, and had the highest respect for. No stranger has seen from me, since the unfortunate time I allude to, any copy. I understand applications have already been made to my superior

“ officers for such a copy : I think myself un-
 “ warrantable in doing so at present. Any thing
 “ in my power, consistent with what I conceive
 “ propriety, I would do to serve lady Crosbie,
 “ or any of the family ; but, in the present case,
 “ I am sure she will excuse me.

“ I am, madam,

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,

HUM. DENIS.

I imagine the original proceedings are placed
 in the judge advocate's office.

*County of the City } George Lucas, of Browne's-
 of Dublin to wit. }* hill, in the county of Car-
 low, farmer, late Shepherd of Sir Edward Wil-
 liam Crosbie, of View-mount, in the said county,
 maketh oath, that, from the nature of this the
 deponent's employment, he was constantly about
 the house and demesne of the said Sir Edward
 William Crosbie, at View-móunt, aforesaid, and
 from thence, and from his observations of the
 conduct of the said Sir Edward William Crosbie,
 both before and after the attack of the rebels on
 the town of Carlow, this deponent was enabled
 to give very material evidence in favour of the
 said Sir Edward William Crosbie upon his trial,
 for which purpose this deponent was directed to
 attend at the place of trial by lady Crosbie, the
 wife of the said Sir Edward William Crosbie. And
 this deponent saith, he has reason to believe that,

if the said Sir Edward William Crosbie had left his house at View-mount, on the morning of the day of the attack of Carlow by the rebels, and had gone, or attempted to go, into the town of Carlow, for the purpose of giving any information, or at all, the family and property of the said Sir Edward William would have been destroyed by the rebels, who were in full force about the said town of Carlow. This deponent saith, that he accordingly attended on the 2d and 4th days of June, at the barrack gate in the town of Carlow, to give evidence upon the said trial; and saith, that on the 4th day of June this deponent was called upon to go into the court, and to give evidence for the said Sir Edward William, by Robert Kirwan, gaoler of Carlow, who was the person (as this deponent heard and believes) instructed, by the said Sir Edward William, to call for his witnesses; and this deponent thereupon went forward, and attempted to go into the barrack-yard, for the purpose of giving his evidence before the said court, upon the trial of the said Sir Edward William Crosbie, which was then going on. And this deponent saith, that upon his attempting to go forward, for that purpose, the sentinel, then on guard, presented his bayonet against this deponent, and refused him entrance, and said deponent should not go in, although he was informed, upon this deponent being so called, that he attended as a

witness upon the said trial.* And this deponent saith, that *Mary Hutchinson, and other material witnesses*, who attended to give evidence upon the said trial, in favour of the said Sir Edward William Crosbie, *were refused admittance in the like manner*. And this deponent saith, that he is, and always was, a protestant of the church of Ireland, as by law established, and saith, he never was concerned in the said rebellion, or in any act in favour thereof; and was always a true and faithful subject to the present established government. And this deponent saith, that this affidavit is made at the special instance and request of the said lady Crosbie.

GEORGE LUCAS.

Sworn before me this 25th day of

December 1800.

Signed JONH CARLETON.

* “ This fact was communicated to colonel Mahon, immediately after the trial, by lady Crosbie herself; who waited on him as commanding officer, and told him, that whatever was the determination of the court, she must solemnly protest against its being put into execution. Upon which he said, pray, madam, what grounds have you for such delay? Her answer was, upon strong grounds indeed; for that the principal witnesses in Sir Edward’s favour were prevented from coming into court to give such strong evidence in his favour, as must, if received, have powerfully operated in her husband’s vindication. “ Good God, Madam, are you certain of what you say?” “ I am, sir, and can prove it on the oaths of those prevented.” Ignorance, therefore, of this important fact formed no excuse for the execution of the dreadful sentence.

The following is an extract of a letter to Mrs. Boissier, from the Rev. Robert Robinson, who has, with the love of his parishioners, and the esteem of the gentry all around, attended the cure of Tullow, these thirty years past, dated Tullow, Jan. 30, 1799.

“YOUR letter found me in a large and gay company, and the revulsion it occasioned had such an effect on me, as I shall not attempt to describe, but which no friend of Sir Edward Crosbie need be ashamed to avow; and that I was such is my boast and my pride, notwithstanding the rash and fatal sentence which deprived him of life. No difference of opinion could ever loosen the bonds of amity between him and me, or cool our affection; and as to party spirit, although I profess myself as loyal a subject as any in his Majesty's dominions, and sincerely abhor the rebellion, which has of late distracted this unhappy country, yet I should be sorry to consider myself as a partizan. I knew Sir Edward's political sentiments well, and do solemnly declare, that he never, to my recollection, uttered a word of treasonable tendency; and with me he was ever unreserved. Would to God he had been less so to others! I will tell you the two grand points on which he was most warm. One was that he thought this kingdom governed by Great Britain rather as a colony than a federal state. The other was that his noble heart spurned

at the hauteur and oppression of the great and rich toward the poor and lowly: On these topics he always expressed himself with ardour, and often in the presence of those who felt themselves *galled*; and this attached to him the character of disaffected and republican. But I will give you a strong proof that he was not so: the morning that he fought young Burton, (of which no doubt you heard), I was saying to him, that I much feared the duel would be imputed to politics, as I knew he had the name of being a republican. His reply was, "if such be the character they give me, is is most undeserved; and I call upon you as my friend, if I fall, to clear my memory from so ungrounded a charge, as I am a steady friend to the constitution of king, lords, and commons, with a parliamentary reform, striking off the rotten boroughs." These sentiments uttered on such an occasion, by a man, whom, in a long course of most intimate acquaintance, I never knew guilty of the minutest falsehood, must be admitted as the genuine effusions of his heart; and that he did so express himself to me, I declare on the word of a christian clergyman. Was he then a republican? No. His own declaration a little before he suffered, and which I read in his own handwriting, clears him from the imputation of being a member of any treasonable society."

NUMBER VIII.

REV. SIR,

As you have publicly professed a wish to be informed of any involuntary errors contained in your history, when speculative opinions supply the place of fact, and are so prevalent, hearsay evidence, whether oral, manuscript, or printed, is to be received with the greatest caution, and the great superiority of ocular information to any other, induces me, from my personal knowledge of facts, to send you, along with my own opinion, auxiliary documents that cannot fail to convince you that the introduction of my name into your history is not such as I am entitled to, and I hope your professions of liberality and candour may be realized in doing justice to my present communication.—According to the plan contained in Mr. Byrne's circular letter, two persons deputed from each catholic congregation in the county of Wexford assembled at Enniscorthy, on the 29th of July 1792, where they elected delegates to represent the county in the general committee of the catholics of Ireland. I attended this meeting as a voter from the congregation I belonged to, and had the honour of being elected one of the delegates for the county of Wexford, so that the intermediate step of baronials (which you mention in

your history) had but a speculative existence, invented I do naturally suppose for the purpose of assimilating the catholic committee with the system of united Irishmen, a circumstance totally devoid of truth, as no kind of communication existed between them. In order that the meeting of the general committee should be publicly attended, proposals were made to hire the Rotunda and other public places which could not be obtained. Such disappointment was the more conspicuous, as such refusal was not signified to many other applications of the same kind, so that no other place but the Taylor's-hall, in Back-lane, could be obtained, which precluded the possibility of being able to admit any but the delegates, as it was scarcely sufficient to contain them, and thus was the committee frustrated in having their assembly publicly attended. The first meeting of this general committee took place in December 1792, for seven days only; which you mention to be many weeks; and the second and final meeting was for eight days, from the 16th of April 1793, to the 25th only, meeting on Saturday the 20th, being in the court of king's bench, where all the delegates attended to take the oaths of allegiance prescribed in the late act of parliament, and this meeting ended in dissolution. The collections made by the catholics of Ireland to defray the necessary expences attendant on the pursuit of their eman-

cipation were voluntary subscriptions, not in any degree assessments, as it is evident that the entreaties of the sub-committee (by no means orders) were not attended to, as two-thirds of the counties of Ireland never produced one farthing. I paid the collection of the county of Wexford to the treasurer in 1792, and no second collection ever was made there. The statue of the king could not be erected, although voted by catholic gratitude, which along with other honourable engagements of the committee, were superseded by the illiberality of the general and calumnious outcry raised at the time against our collections. The petition of the catholics of Ireland, presented to the king on the 2d January 1795, might be supposed to escape animadversion, when his Majesty was graciously pleased to signify his strongest approbation in his recommendation to the parliament of Ireland, who in consequence repealed the greater part of the penal statutes against catholics. The late earl of Clare did assert, as you have done in your history, that the catholic petition was surprisingly fraught with misrepresentation. On this assertion being so publicly made the petition was reprinted, reciting the statutes on which the allegations were grounded, prepared by the honourable Simon Butler, whose reputation as a lawyer, the chancellor was too well aware of to

attempt to expose his error again, and gave up the point; so that I imagine this public document will be equally convincing to you, as I send it to you along with all the proceedings of the catholic committee relating to this event, for your perusal, as I should wish your avowal to proceed from the most perfect information on the subject. Although I profess the Roman catholic religion, I should not be of that communion one single hour were their tenets as they are represented, through that baneful prejudice so prevalent in Ireland, that proves such an effectual draw back to the otherwise infallible prosperity of the country, and I cannot sufficiently lament to see so industriously circulated, as it only serves to keep alive those prejudices that all liberal men see through and reprobate as a pest to society. A sloop had been fitted out by the insurgents, but twice condemned as totally unfit for that service, was hauled on one side in the harbour, where she sunk within a foot of her deck, and remained in that situation for a month, when she was pumped out, and I was on the same day, without trial or inquiry, sent on board along with those that had been tried, and sentenced to transportation. The wet straw was left in the hold and a little dry straw shook over it, which our walking on soon made as bad as the rest, so that it was not possible to sit or lie down without

imbibing the wet, nor could we ever have the satisfaction of resting against the sides of the ship, as the planks were water-soaked, and the effervescence of the putrid malt so strong as to turn money black in our pockets in the course of a few hours; we had also a profusion of rats that bit some of the prisoners. My health has been greatly impaired by five weeks confinement on board this sloop, and I fear it may never be perfectly re-established! I should detain you too long was I to enumerate the various hardships I endured during a period of thirteen months that I was confined, which I was at last released from by an honourable acquittal, at the Summer assizes in Wexford 1799, independent of the amnesty bill, whereas my persecutors could be punished by the fundamental laws of the constitution had they not the indemnity bills to skreen their base and tyrannical conduct towards me. I have confined myself merely to the facts stated in your history, in which I have been an eye witness, and in some degree concerned, so that it precludes the possibility of cavilling or contradiction, and hope you may be kind enough to set them in their proper colours. I request the favour of your answer, as I am anxious to learn your determination on a subject you have hitherto been so much misinformed, as I do not mean to let such a misrepresentation pass unre-

futed to posterity, I am therefore anxious to learn your answer, and have the honour to be, with great respect,

Rev. Sir,

your most obedient humble servant,

EDWARD HAY.

Dublin, 6th July 1802.

TO THE REV. MR. GORDON, BORO LODGE.

County of Wex- } MR. THOMAS TAYLOR, of
ford, to wit. } the town of Wexford, merchant, who was a prisoner in the goal of Wexford during the rebellion, freely and voluntarily maketh oath on the Holy Evangelists, and saith, that he has known the prisoners to express the comfort and consolation they experienced from Mr. Edward Hay's deportment and manner towards them, and has always heard them express their joy on Mr. Hay visiting the goal. Deponent being an Englishman, and not long in Ireland, had no kind of acquaintance with Mr. Hay, but always approached him when he saw him conversing with his fellow prisoners, and experienced the consolation of his conversation, although not addressed to him; but considered Mr. Hay the greatest friend of the loyalists, as the purport of his visits to the goal evidently was to give general comfort to all he saw in distress, as he communicated his sentiments openly and candidly to them, and undeceived the prisoners with respect to many false

reports that were circulated. Deponent has heard Mr. Hay express his horror and detestation of the barbarous proceedings of the rebels, and that he would lose his life, or put a stop to the cruelties that were committing on Vinegar-hill, had he been there. Deponent remembers to have heard of an order for several prisoners to be sent to Enniscorthy, which order might have been complied with, had not Mr. Hay gained intelligence that they were to be put to death, and at the earnest request of the prisoners from the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy, Mr. Hay declared that he would make such representations to the principal inhabitants of Wexford, as to have them detained in goal, as their only place of safety; on which occasion he has heard the prisoners express their utmost gratitude to Mr. Hay, whom they consulted on all occasions of distress, and from whom they received every possible comfort. Various reports were propagated which tended to rouse and irritate the passions of the people to revenge, that the army had committed the greatest excesses, which alarmed the prisoners very much, who consulted Mr. Hay about a proposal they had drawn up, to be forwarded to government, intimating their great danger, and hoping that the prisoners taken by the army might meet with the like good treatment that they did, otherwise reprisals might be made, and their destruction inevitable.

Mr. Hay undertook the task of endeavouring to forward this proposal with the greatest alacrity, and conducted Captain M'Manus to consult with Lord Kingsborough, who accordingly wrote a letter in the name of all the prisoners, among whom were many officers, and principal gentlemen of the county, which proposal was dispatched by an officer, to be forwarded to the next commanding officer of his majesty's forces, but who would not be allowed to proceed farther than the rebel camp at Enniscorthy, and was obliged to return to Wexford, at which disappointment we considered our situation more critical than ever, and experienced in a greater degree the consoling visits of Mr. Hay, who truly sympathized in our feelings, and felt this disappointment as much as any of us. Depo-
nent never saw Mr. Hay appear with arms, or with any kind of green ornament, then usually worn by all descriptions of persons; and from what he has seen, and every information he could learn, believes that, during the rebellion, Mr. Hay was solely actuated by principles of philanthropy, in any interference of his during that period.

Sworn before me, this 28th day of August, 1799,

EBEN. JACOB.

THOS. TAYLOR.

DEAR SIR,

IN compliance with your request, and having received a summons to attend your trial, I shall relate the circumstances I recollect of your conduct during the rebellion, which I send you immediately, as you mention you want to have your instructions made out for your lawyers, previous to the assizes. I was taken prisoner along with Lord Kingsborough and captain O'Hea, on the second day of June, 1798, we were confined together in a house in Wexford, with a strong guard over us; from the great fury of the people against Lord Kingsborough, we expected every moment to be put to death; Mr. Edward Hay visited us frequently, and we clearly perceived his disposition to afford us every consolation in his power, as he took every opportunity he could of softening our captivity, and has frequently conducted my family to see me, at a time it was extremely dangerous to seem or appear friendly to us. Whenever we experienced any kind of distress, we always sent for Mr. Hay, who readily came to us, and never left us, without being convinced that he would do his utmost to be of service to us. I have every reason to believe, that he saved our lives on several occasions, when the mob were for bringing us out, and putting us to death. One day, in particular, I perfectly recollect his standing with his back to the door of the house in

which we were confined, where he remained until the tumultuous crowd had dispersed, who sought our instant destruction. I always heard Mr. Hay express his horror at the barbarous proceedings of the rebels, and his earnest wish that peace and good order might be restored. Various reports being industriously circulated that tended to rouse and irritate the passions of the people to revenge, that the army had committed the greatest excesses which alarmed us, and all the rest of the prisoners in Wexford, for our situation, we as usual consulted Mr. Hay, on this peculiar cause of distress, and found him particularly anxious to forward a negotiation of prisoners, proposed by lord Kingsborough, as the best mode of re-establishing peace and good order; during this dilemma, letters had been forwarded through the rebel camps, from Dublin, to lord Kingsborough; in answer to which, was considered a favourable opportunity of forwarding this measure, which Mr. Hay readily undertook, and accordingly conducted captain M'Manus to consult with us, and in consequence, a letter was written by Lord Kingsborough, in the name of all the prisoners, among whom were thirteen officers, and great numbers of yeomanry officers, and principal gentlemen of the county, intimating that they were well treated, and in every respect prisoners of war; hoping therefore that the prisoners taken by the

army might meet with the like good treatment that they did, otherwise, they feared reprisals might be made, and their destruction inevitable; which proposal was confided to my charge, and with which I was to proceed to the next commanding officers of the army, and to return with the answer with all convenient speed. I accordingly set off from Wexford on the 14th day of June, 1798, and proceeded as far as Enniscorthy, where I was stopped by the people, and not allowed to proceed any further, and obliged to return to Wexford the next day; on which disappointment we felt our situation more alarming than ever, and experienced, in a greater degree, the consoling visits of Mr. Hay, who was truly concerned at this disappointment. Among the many attentions paid to us by Mr. Hay, he brought us letters that were directed to us, and had fallen into the hands of the rebels, which, if made public to them, would have proved our instant destruction, for which piece of service Mr. Hay narrowly escaped with his life, as captain Keugh, who then commanded in Wexford, was very angry on hearing it from Lord Kingsborough, who inadvertantly mentioned Mr. Hay having done so; and Mr. Hay was afterwards constantly prevented from visiting us, by order of captain Keugh. I never saw or heard of Mr. Hay having any command amongst the rebels, or did ever see him appear in arms, or

wear any mark of distinction or uniform, which I had daily an opportunity of witnessing, had it been so, as the house in which we were confined was situated in the Bullring, and commanded a full view of the most frequented streets in Wexford, through which all the armed men in the town passed and repassed twice a day. On the 20th day of June, 1798, the day of the massacre on the bridge, considering our situation more critical than ever, we wished to see Mr. Hay; Lord Kingsborough sent for him, and he immediately attended, but was denied admittance to us, but we spoke to him out of the window, and he declared to us, that as long as he was alive, we might depend on every exertion of his. We had at last the consolation of Mr. Hay being admitted up-stairs to us at eight o'clock in the evening. We found him beyond expression affected at the cruelties that had been committed; that he had in vain done every thing in his power to prevent them, and anxious to undertake any thing for safety of the prisoners. After a variety of consultation, Lord Kingsborough and Mr. Hay agreed to go out to meet the army, that was approaching Wexford, in order to save the town from destruction. The Wexford men that had gone out that day, returned from the battle of Fook's Mill, when Mr. Hay was still with us; he then proposed to go and consult the principal inhabitants, who he had not the

smallest doubt would agree to facilitate the plan; it being then late at night, he promised to return early in the morning, to set off with lord Kingsborough; who was so anxious to have the project carried into execution, that he was dressed in full regimentals, and completely ready to set off at three o'clock in the morning of the 21st of June, 1798, at which time he sent for Mr. Hay, who immediately attending, represented to lord Kingsborough the danger of his going out equipped as he was, and that it would prove their inevitable destruction if they went without the consent of the people. Lord Kingsborough then entreated Mr. Hay to hasten a meeting of the principal inhabitants, and to have the drum beat to arms, and the men would speedily repair to parade, where their consent might be obtained, for there was no time to be lost, as the smallest delay might prove the destruction of the town and all its inhabitants. Mr. Hay instantly complied, and returned with an account of the Wexford men having agreed to the plan, with the greatest alacrity; and it had been further proposed, that lord Kingsborough should not leave the town, which should be instantly surrendered to him, as military commander; and that doctor Jacob should reassume the office of Mayor, all of which was immediately carried into effect, with some opposition on the part of captain Keugh, who wanted to retain the command, but

was most spiritedly opposed by Mr. Hay, who set off with captain M'Manus, as soon as lord Kingsborough could write out the necessary dispatches to the next commanding officer of his majesty's forces, announcing the town of Wexford having surrendered to him; and that in consequence of the behaviour of those in the town during the rebellion, they, "the town's people," should be protected in person and property, "except murderers, and people who had instigated others to commit murder," hoping that these terms might be ratified, as he had pledged his honour in the most solemn manner to have them fulfilled, on the town being surrendered to him: the Wexford men not being concerned in the massacre which was perpetrated by country people in their absence. I saw Mr. Hay on his return from general Lake, on the 22nd of June, 1798, when Lord Kingsborough considered himself under so many obligations to him, which he acknowledged in the strongest terms, and insisted he should live in the house with him, where Mr. Hay remained with us until we left Wexford, on the 29th of June, 1798, during which period, I have heard him repeatedly express a desire to be brought to trial if any thing was alleged against him, as he would wish to have the benefit of our testimony before we went to Waterford. I consider myself bound, on all occasions that may be afforded me,

and I think it an indispensable duty to do justice to the meritorious conduct of Mr. Hay during the rebellion in Wexford. Actuated by principles of honour and gratitude, I think myself bound to subscribe to.

MICHL. BOURKE,

Capt. and paymaster, North-Cork militia.

Sallins, June 3rd. 1799.

TO EDWD. HAY, ESQ. WEXFORD GOAL.

I believe the above statement of Mr. Bourke, with the alterations I have made to be true.

KINGSTON.

N. B. The alteration alluded to by lord Kingston, are marked by inverted commas.

Dublin, March 19th, 1800.

SIR,

ACCORDING to your request, I have made a proper retrospect on the circumstances you allude to in your letter of the 17th, and recollect perfectly when a memorial was presented to M. Gen. Hunter, on your part, from on board a prison ship, denying you had ever petitioned for transportation, and to be liberated under the general proclamation : that the general had every good disposition to liberate you, and believe would have complied with your petition ; but on questioning the committee, on this point, they still asserted you petitioned for transportation. Gen. Hunter declared, if so, you should apply

to his Excellency, and if you wished it, would forward such memorial. When you were afterwards removed from the prison ship to the goal, on account of ill-health, through the interference of general Craddock, and recommendation came by which I was sent to you to inquire more particularly into your situation, when you demonstrated the facts so clearly to me by documents, and I had every reason to believe the general would liberate you, on discovering the iniquitous designs of the committee as I conceive you had sufficient proofs to shew the falsity of their assertion. But unfortunately for you at that period, the landing of the French in this kingdom obliged the general to depart hastily, which left you and many more innocent persons the victims of a persecuting sanguinary party, which I call that vile body, commonly called, "the committee." However, I congratulated you on your happy escape from becoming the victim of suborned perjury, which to my knowledge was too commonly resorted to in that town under the pretext of law.

I regret exceedingly general Hunter is not in the realm, as you would be certain to meet from him every honourable testimony of your situation, as he never countenanced party of any kind, and was always ready to relieve the oppressed. I shall be happy at any time to come forward to attest any thing that comes to my recollection,

and should long since unveil the horrid atrocious practices of that town, if my public duties did not interfere.—I wish you may succeed in getting redress; and have the honour to remain, SIR,

Your obedient humble servant,

B. EDW. FITZ-GERALD,

EDWARD HAY, ESQ.

Lt. Major of Brigade.

SIR,

From what I saw of your conduct while I was at Wexford a prisoner, I am convinced, that you did all in your power to save the people whom the rebels wished to murder, and myself among that number. And it was through you, &c. that the town of Wexford was given up to me, which circumstance, I believe, saved the lives of many; and by what I have heard from you of your trial, &c. think you have been very unjustly persecuted.

Your most obedient humble servant,

Colney, Dec. 14, 1799.

KINGSTON.

EDWD. HAY, ESQ.

NUMBER IX.

Sir Richard Musgrave, author of *Memoirs of all the rebellions in Ireland*, (*parturiunt montes!*) has in a pamphlet *professedly* written against Doctor Caulfield, Roman catholic bishop of Ferns, given us the following letter, demon

strative of military *honour* in men of *liberal* education.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR WILLIAMS,
TO MAJOR GENERAL NEEDHAM.

Naas, March 1, 1802.

SIR,

WE, the undersigned officers of the Durham regiment, who were present at the battle of Arklow, feel it a justice due to you, under whom we served, to declare, that Mr. Gordon was not authorized by any of us to make use of those insinuations, which appear in his history, tending to reflect on your conduct that day; and we are convinced, that no proposal to retreat was made by you to Colonel Skerrett, or any other officer.

We lament colonel Skerrett, being at Newfoundland, who could have given the best testimony. We have the *honour* to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble *servant*,

G. HANBURY WILLIAMS, major.

JOHN HOLMES,

L. V. MORGAN,

S. WALLINTON,

J. BEEVAR,

W. GIBBONS,

W. GIBBS,

J. DUTTON,

OWEN FAWCET,

} captains.

} lieutenants.

THOS. HASSEL, surgeon.

JOHN WALTON, assistant surgeon.

These very officers, particularly Holmes and Beever, so frequently told the story of general Needham's proposal of a retreat, and colonel Skerrett's answer, that I and many others were disgusted with the repetition. Of this the most ample proofs can be produced, since numerous indeed were the witness. Among those, who, most contrary to their inclination, would be bound by a sense of propriety to give this evidence is Mr. John Hunter Gowan of Mountnebo, near Gorey. His family are in the same predicament, and Miss Martha Gowan of Enniscorthy, his niece, has often heard the story from all these officers, and from colonel Bainbridge. Among those in the vicinity of Naas, who could give evidence in my favour, is Mr. James Critchly, the present high sheriff of the county of Wicklow, a man of a very respectable fortune and character, who repeatedly heard the story from Owen Fawcet. I know not what title to give Mr. Fawcet now, as I have not heard what office has been procured him for his signature by General Needham, and the Musgravian, or truth opposing junto. Holmes told me that the general, being determined to retreat, and wishing to lay the blame thereof on colonel Skerret, sent his aid-du-camp to him for advice concerning the choice of a place to which they should retreat. He afterwards informed me that general Skerrett (he had then become general)

had written some observations on the rebellion, for my use, which were then in the hands of colonel Bainbridge for correction, and that they should be sent to me as soon as the Colonel should have finished this correction. The general and colonel told me the same, and sent them to me corrected here and there, and in some places interlined with a pencil. They have been since the publication of the above letter of the *honest* officers, deposited with Mr. Porter, of Grafton-street, Dublin, the publisher of the first edition of this book, who can shew them to any person desirous of seeing them.

The reply to the proposal of a retreat is contained in pages 10 and 11 of these observations. Thus the manuscript runs.—“ The noble reply “ of colonel Skerrett to it was concise. We can “ only hope for victory by preserving our ranks. “ If we break, all is lost, and after what I have “ seen of the Durham regiment, they shall never “ retire.” In the interlining here we read, “ That day will ever reflect honour on himself.” The rest of the interlining in this place is obliterated; but the following words are legible, though a pen has been drawn over some of them; “ to ask ***** opinion as to a situation “ in the case of being obliged to retreat.”

Holmes, I am persuaded, (of the rest I have a worse opinion) would not dare to deny on oath what I assert. Men of low education have

been found, who would scruple at no breach of honour for emolument, yet would shudder at perjury. Why was the letter of these officers not procured until almost a year after the publication of my book? Sir R. Musgrave tells you that the *honourable* general Needham knew nothing of my book till then. Whatever opinion I had before entertained of Sir Richard's *intellect and candour*, I am really sorry for so flagrant a violation of propriety. He well knew, as is known by many members of his junto, that what related to general Needham, in my book, was shewn to said general immediately after its publication. The evident fact is that no such letter could be procured till after colonel Bainbridge's death, for he was a *gentleman*, never having been tailor, pedlar, drummer, fifer, nor rank-and-file-man; * besides that his pencil writing was in my hands. At length, after his death it was procured, but it remained unpublished till after the *honourable* men, who had subscribed it, were gone out of the country, and were consequently freed from the shame which they must suffer in meeting the eyes of any of those persons, who were acquainted with their previous declarations.—

* Men, who adopt the principles of gentlemen, on being promoted from a mean condition into that rank, cannot be debased by the consideration of their former state. The case is different, when the vilest principles of the meanest class are retained by them when promoted to a higher rank.

Holmes, as well as colonel Bainbridge, read in manuscript my account of the battle of Arklow, and declared that it was perfectly agreeable to their own and general Skerrett's sentiments. Why were not the names of captains Dante, Wilkinson, and others, subscribed to this letter, who had been in the battle of Arklow? These appear to have some property, and not to have thought their situation so desperate as to be obliged to take such a step. Perhaps also they had a principle superior to such foul dealing independently of property. Captain Dante, who, having a personal quarrel with my family, might have been gratified with such a signature, declined the *honour*. That of Holmes was the last signature obtained, a man of no very shallow *speculation*, who certainly would not make a barter for *nothing*.

This transaction, strange as it may appear to the reader, created not the least surprise in me, because a transaction of a far darker hue had before occurred in a combination of these same officers against me, against whom, I really believe, they were far from having any personal enmity, at a time when the command of the regiment, by colonel Bainbridge's violent sickness, devolved on major Williams. Of this nefarious combination, procured by the interest of a general officer, all powerful, it seems, with them, and counteracted by the generosity of another

general officer, a truly worthy man, of a character diametrically opposite to that of the former, I shall give an account hereafter, and I hope that, for the honour of the British army, attention will be paid to this affair by the commander-in-chief.

These officers, while they remained in the neighbourhood of Gorey, were in the habit of speaking contemptuously of general Needham, whom they seldom honoured with any other appellation than that of general Needless; and told many stories of piano-fortes, jaunting cars, cows, horses, &c. but one which lieutenant Gibbs related, was so extraordinary that few believed it; that in the plundering of Magauley's shop at Oulart, in the march from Gorey to Vinegar-hill, a scramble was made for the brass money in the till or drawer of the counter.

I shall take leave at present of the *Loyal Durham Fensibles* with this observation, that in no other regiment could ever probably have been more strongly exemplified how much the behaviour of soldiers and subaltern officers depends on the principles and conduct of their commander. Its discipline was really excellent until the departure from it of general Skerrett, its colonel, to Newfoundland. After that, in a long sickness of colonel Bainbridge, and his long absence in England, the change was amazing. One out of many instances may suffice. Mr.

Charles Driver, of Gorey, a very eminent boot-maker, waiting on lieutenant Dutton with a pair of boots which he had ordered, and expressing in respectful terms his unwillingness to leave them without being paid, (for good reasons which he had not the imprudence to avow), was ordered by Mr. Dutton into the guard-house, and confined there some hours ; and on his complaint, after his liberation, to major Williams, was commanded to go, and be damned, about his business. Mr. Driver was well known to be a very zealous loyalist, whose father had been murdered by the rebels. Whether he has since been paid for his boots I know not.

THE END.

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